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P.44

SEPT.  
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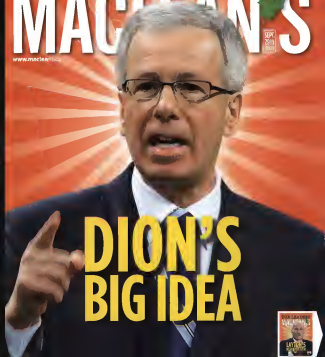


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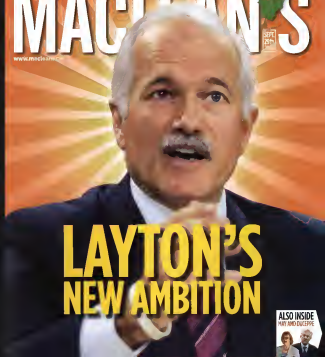
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Panic grips world markets as one giant after another falls

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## Defining leadership

ment Paul Wells looks at the big picture strategy behind this fall's election. While many down Harper's Oct. 14 election call was more short-term opportunism, Wells steps back and presents it in the context of a decades-long plan by the Prime Minister to change forever the way Canadians think about themselves, and the Conservative party Harper is playing the long game.

"Lapoint's New Ambition" looks at the NDP leader's aggressive attempt to oust the Liberals and position his party as the real alternative to the Conservatives. Ottawa reporter Aaron Wherry, who's also written Montreal's popular online column "The Conventions," examines the military-like precision with which the third party has plotted its battle plan and the leader who is putting it into action.

Rewriting our new leadership contracts are pieces on Gillen Trapppe and Elizabeth May, leaders of the Bloc and Green parties, who leave their own leadership issues to deal with. Together, our full cover package runs 17 pages, features five top writers and represents the kind of in-depth reporting that's only possible in a weekly newsmagazine. In an election about leadership, Maclean's is proud to

<p> <b>1999-2000</b> (1st year)  <b>2000-2001</b> (2nd year)  <b>2001-2002</b> (3rd year)  <b>2002-2003</b> (4th year)  <b>2003-2004</b> (5th year)  <b>2004-2005</b> (6th year)  <b>2005-2006</b> (7th year)  <b>2006-2007</b> (8th year)  <b>2007-2008</b> (9th year)  <b>2008-2009</b> (10th year)  <b>2009-2010</b> (11th year)  <b>2010-2011</b> (12th year)  <b>2011-2012</b> (13th year)  <b>2012-2013</b> (14th year)  <b>2013-2014</b> (15th year)  <b>2014-2015</b> (16th year)  <b>2015-2016</b> (17th year)  <b>2016-2017</b> (18th year)  <b>2017-2018</b> (19th year)  <b>2018-2019</b> (20th year)  <b>2019-2020</b> (21st year)  <b>2020-2021</b> (22nd year)  <b>2021-2022</b> (23rd year)  <b>2022-2023</b> (24th year)  <b>2023-2024</b> (25th year)  <b>2024-2025</b> (26th year)  <b>2025-2026</b> (27th year)  <b>2026-2027</b> (28th year)  <b>2027-2028</b> (29th year)  <b>2028-2029</b> (30th year)  <b>2029-2030</b> (31st year)  <b>2030-2031</b> (32nd year)  <b>2031-2032</b> (33rd year)  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<b>2162-2163</b> (164th year)  <b>2163-2164</b> (165th year)  <b>2164-2165</b> (166th year)  <b>2165-2166</b> (167th year)  <b>2166-2167</b> (168th year)  <b>2167-2168</b> (169th year)  <b>2168-2169</b> (170th year)  <b>2169-2170</b> (171st year)  <b>2170-2171</b> (172nd year)  <b>2171-2172</b> (173rd year)  <b>2172-2173</b> (174th year)  <b>2173-217</b></p>
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## AQUOS

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culture and beliefs that help us in our day-to-day lives. Here in today's society do we hang on to these values? We do so by being proud and always having a connection to the land and water. I believe man self-destructs itself by taking resources and never leaving enough for future generations. We have always been taught to take only what you need. This quote may only cause others to go where? John A. Rickard, Moose Factory, Ont.

I HAVE SPENT a great deal of time working in and with the people of Nunavut Canada, and while I identify with many of the comments that Boyden makes about the Moose River Basin, I would like to comment on one point: As Boyden wrote, I did make a personal connection to the people of Inuvialuit and Inuit.



NEW CBC, why deny us pretty cheerleaders?

contemplated on the condition that the Moose River not only supported a, but was active partners with a sustainable economic stream. The working model that we have in mind can be seen in Fair Hills, Ont., the traditional territory of the Lac Seul First Nations. There, 12 megawatts were achieved with the addition of new technology and an agreement that gives Lac Seul First Nations 25 per cent ownership of the hydroelectric generating station. The people of Nunavut and Ontario gain increased access to clean, green power and the First Nations gain a sustainable revenue stream and the pride of ownership that goes along with it. As Ontario's light climate change negotiator, it is amazing that local power will ask us to look closely for opportunities with wind, sun and water as the fuel source. Make no doubt that working with First Nations is a precondition for success.

George Sackville, Deputy Premier of Ontario, Ontario Minister of Energy and Infrastructure, Toronto

#### MORE BEACH VOLLEYBALL!

ROMA STORIES of our Olympic athletes in Beijing ("Highland love at the Games") News makers, Sept. 11 refer to the heavy exposure of beach volleyball in China, including the exposure of the bikini-wearing cheerleaders Lucy Chinese. Watching the Games on CBC, I wrote to the cheerleaders. The CBC's article may explain why their viewers were repeatedly shown overtly flattering athletes like kaiser Adam van Kooyke, but they didn't mention and rhythmic gymnastics. I suppose we should expect our hockey channel to stick with video of a former male athlete. Julian Swain, Ottawa

#### IN PASSING

Richard Monette, 64, theatre director in Hamilton to London to appear in a stage production of the once mighty Old Cal called in 1976 before returning to a career as an actor in Canada. He appeared in the English version of Michel Tremblay's *Mousses* and took some 40 roles at the Stratford Festival. He became artistic director there for 14 seasons.

David Foster Wallace, 46, author *The American* poster of the LOTR page novel before he was described by many fine arts critics as a Thomas Pynchon of the information age. Hailed for the breadth of his intellectual inquiry, which ranged from competing and popular to Greek poetry, Wallace took his own life.



#### A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF SARAH PALIN

As an ABC News interview, John McCain's VP pick seemed mollified by the idea of a renewed Cold War with Russia, trigger-happy on Iran, and strangled by a question on the Bush doctrine. Then came news that her foreign policy "experience" wasn't quite as billed—she never did make it to Iraq, as claimed, and the visit to Ireland was a baffling stop. On Saturday, she made pop culture history with comedian Tina Fey's devastating impression of her on *Saturday Night Live*.

#### Good news

##### Reserved applause

How to interpret the headlines coming out of Harbin this week? A cynic might fear that Mongolia's 20-year-old standard bearer of Zinoviev's banned democratic movement—has been co-opted by the prospect of changing power with President Robert Megvishi, a man whose agenda isn't a core project of reconciliation against Mongolia's supporters during last March's no-vote election. Or maybe, just maybe, this inter-racially broken deal has provided Megvishi a fair warning of his political authority, partly mitigating a 20-year legacy of vilification and denigration. We prefer the latter scenario and, accordingly, urge Mongolia not to break faith with his long-standing supporters. He must work from his new position to continue balance back as a party to order, justice and democracy.

##### A small, small world

A month after Russia's brutal military assault on Georgia, NATO officials met with Georgian leaders in Thessalonika to discuss accelerating the country's membership in the military alliance. NATO Secretary Gen. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer said that, while former democratic reforms were required by Georgia to meet NATO standards, it was the membership path. Relations between Russia and the West have reached Cold War level low since August. If diplomatic pressure doesn't make Russia embrace the West and all its charms, maybe Mickey Mouse will. Disney's Russia office has just begun production on a local production, a kids' adventure.

##### Clean up this mess

As we've witnessed repeatedly this campaign season, the power

#### Bad news

##### Too little, too late?

George W. Bush has approved a "quiet surge" of 4,000 more U.S. troops for Afghanistan, but the prospects for peace and stability are increasingly gloomy. The security situation is worse than at any time since the 2001 invasion, with the resurgence of Taliban gaining new ground. The number of civilian deaths in the past five months is steadily climbing, as are NATO casualties. Canada's death toll is climbing in 2007. And now the war is spreading across

squid-like new directions. The Beijing Olympics. Afghanistan for China's corrupt business leaders must be the risk of doing business there are exaggerated—but still—too little, too late, contaminated by the resurgence of Taliban and powerful lobby for arms sales. Afghanistan is a fast-moving marketplace. But any country where officials are the Olympics higher than the lives of children remains dangerous place to trade.

##### Hey, keep it down

As though life in the modern world weren't hazardous enough for its materials—what with the threat of terrorism, illegal whaling, and becoming mired in fishing nets—now they have added to the mix noise pollution, too. According to the International Fund for Animal Welfare, ocean noise is too noisy for whales, dolphins and other marine mammals. Underwater noise—caused by ship engines, seismic surveys used in underwater exploration, and naval sonar systems—disrupts communication and feeding patterns, and is believed to have caused mass deaths of marine species.

#### FACE OF THE WEEK



GOLD STANDARD: Canada's Carin Camner sets a new record of 12:52 seconds for the 500-m race of the Beijing 2008 Paralympic Games.

#### Thinking pink

Men are a long way from the moon, but researchers in the United States say that they have developed an experimental new one that targets a specific type of breast cancer treatment in rodents. The potential cure, which targets cancer caused by an excess of the protein HER2, is the second vaccine developed by the team from Wayne State University in Detroit. This is well seen as one of the best cancer treatments in October, but without cancer it will be years until a human version is available.

#### Caveat venditor

The medicine poisoning of thousands of Chinese babies suggests the country's bad health of the past year isn't just a bad thing. Only after the New Zealand government told the whole of the Chinese authorities that the vaccine injected infant formula that has killed at least two babies and sickened 1,300, among whose parents of a cover-up means to

#### Bedtime brain drain

Men have never been accounted being overly cerebral in the bedroom, but a new study that says that a partner may make them dumber. An Australian study has found that men who share their beds actually fire waste on cognitive tests, and have higher stress-hormone levels, than those who sleep alone—consequences, it seems, of a more full night's rest. Women, on the other hand, show no such effects, because they sleep more deeply when sex to someone. Although research might be God's way of saving the scene.

MAGAZINE'S BESTSELLERS	
RANKED BY CIRCULATION	
Fiction	
1 CONVENTION by Andrew Humphrey	1,000
2 THE FURIOUS THIRTEEN by Michael Tomlin	1,000
3 THE GUNNERY LITERARY AND POTATO PEEL SOCIETY by Mary Ann Tomlin and Andrew Tomlin	1,000
4 THROUGH BLACK SPRUCE by Joseph Boyden	1,000
5 THE PRIVATE ADJUTANT by P.D. James	1,000
6 EXIT LINES by John Banville	1,000
7 THE UNCOMMON READER by John Banville	1,000
8 MORE by John Banville	1,000
9 CARBLES IN BED by P.D. James	1,000
10 THE SARGOLLE by Andrew Tomlin	1,000
Non-Fiction	
1 WHAT IS AMERICA? by David Wright	1,000
2 THE LAST LECTURE by Sami Reich	1,000
3 THE WAY WITHIN by Bob Woodward	1,000
4 NOT, FLAT AND CROWDED by Thomas Friedman	1,000
5 SHOOT TO HEAD by First Premier	1,000
6 THE GIFT OF THINGS by Margaret Viner	1,000
7 THE WORLD IN MY SONGS by David Wright	1,000
8 PUTTING A LAMP IN by David Wright	1,000
9 WHEN YOU ARE ENGULFED WITH FLAMES by David Wright	1,000
10 WHAT I TALK ABOUT WHEN I TALK ABOUT RUNNING by David Wright	1,000

LAST WEEK (CIRCULATION)



# MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON THE CAMPAIGN HUSBAND LEFT WITH THE CATS AND MINDING THE HARPER KIDS

## WHAT LAUREN WILL BE WEARING

The PM's wife has her victory night outfit already picked out. A white back, *Barbie's* *Lebanese* *Jeune Belle* with Laureen Harper cut to meet some Canadian designers, including Wayne Clark (the two bonded because of their Calgary connection), *Blasmerie* *Unesco* and jewelry designer *Bia Tindale*. On Oct. 14, Mrs. Harper will be wearing Canadian designer *Jocelyn Cane*, whose outfit, *Riley* says, has "a little bit of *Madeline* *Chenilles*. He's one of the best designers we have in Canada." (Coincidentally, Cane used to design under the label *Moschino*, which was formerly backed by *Salvatore Ferragamo* before the political parties.) While Mr. and Mrs. Harper are out campaigning, Margaret Harper, the PM's mother, who lives in Calgary, is staying in Ottawa with *Bia Harper* and *Rachel Harper*. The PM and his wife return to the capital every Sunday for laundry day. *Bia* says she has two husbands and two drivers. They travel together. *Margery LeBlond* also travels with the PM and his wife. She is the one of her husband, *Douglas LeBlond*, who died in a plane when the *Blonds* were not eating. "Did you describe the boat?" asked *LeBlond*, who has taken in money since the war and owns over 100 cars. Once the boats were real in between findings, *LeBlond* reports, the cats were fine.



TORY SENATE LEADER *Margery LeBlond* (top left), *Laureen Harper* (top right), *Jeane Collett* (middle), in the NDP's *Billy 4 Change*, *Bob Rae* (bottom left), *Montreal Liberal MP Brian Collett* (bottom right), *Shirley Arlene Perry Rae* (left) and *Berlin's* *Shirley*.

## WHY COTLER IS BURNING AGAIN

*Maxwell* (*David* *MP* *LeBlond* *Cotler* *also* *called* *a* *quasi* *before* *this* *election*. *He* *has* *been* *on* *LeBlond* *for* *many* *years*. "It's not a *palindrome*," he says. "It's what I call a *period* of public service and [then] I will return to my first love." Cotler is

Arise. Harper broke his first election date promise. That is one of the reasons he is running again, he says. In fact, says Cotler, "I think [Harper] is breaking the law. It was [just] to prevent any prime minister unduly interfering in election day. *Cotler* look at the purpose of a law and all they have to do is quack it. Prime Minister in the

harvest." *Bob Rae* and *Michael Ignatieff* said his is a campaign, and his wife is "strongly supportive." *Arlene* *Cotler* famously left the Liberal party in 2006 when Ignatieff suggested Israel may have committed war crimes in Lebanon. She is back with the Liberals now and is leading his husband's campaign. Cotler is also running to keep *Dur* for

the agenda. A few months ago *Paul Martin* said his, "We didn't do too bad on *Dur*." Cotler replied, "We did do bad on *Dur* for the moment is not on *LeBlond*. The moment is on *LeBlond*. The moment is on *LeBlond*."

## REPLACING STEVEN PAGE

*Jack Layton* held a high-energy "Bully 4 Change" in Toronto with drummers from *Duran Duran* by the crowd. Also performing was *Jason Collett* of *Steven Social Service*. In the past, Layton often had *Steven Page* of the *Born This* perform at his events, but falls are likely warning for a certain incident to blow over before Page is back on the political circuit. The reason was a refreshing change from the scandalousness most of the other leaders get before coming a round. "At least we have rock stars," noted an NDP organizer.

## THE RIGHT RAE

When *Stephen Harper* declared himself a "straight" after being asked what vegetable he would most likely be, the gay lobby group *Equal Canada* felt it worth a challenge to send a message out. Was the PM's openness the way of reaching out to *Bob Rae*'s riding, which has the largest gay neighbourhood in the country? *John Rae*, the PM should "keep [in] touch with [any] constituents." *Rae* recently marched in Toronto's AIDS walk with well-known gay comedian *Rylee Rae*, whose word overlaps with the MP's riding. *Bob Rae*'s wife, *Arlene Perry Rae*, notes "It's a good thing the two got along because their efforts keep getting calls for each other." M

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa news, or to contact Mitchell Raphael, visit [mitchellraphael.com](http://mitchellraphael.com).

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# How journalists get in the way of the election



ANDREW COYNE

Every election is different. Each has its own rhythm, its peculiar melody, its unpredictable bumps and squeals. But in one respect every election is the same: the press coverage. It's always an embarrassment, and always in exactly the same way. Politicians learn from their mistakes, sometimes. We just go on repeating ours.

We can't help ourselves, it seems. After every election we retire, defeated, to our newspapers' post-mortems, and each time we vow: never again. Never again will we sit up and beg for our "Gerrymongers," the little meaningless morsels of news the parties do us each day to keep us complacent in their charades. Never again will we chase after every flapping poll, salivate over every minor "poll" (Never again the gaffe-question, the fully phony, the constant search for "deficit and mortgage" and "turning points," the wasteful ritual campaigns' attempts such symbols import—) and the great river of events were just minutely turning with metaphor for us no fish. Why, next time we might not even go on these ridiculous leaders' tours.

And then we go out and do it all over again.

I don't know whether it's learned behaviour, or whether it's instinctive, responding to some deeply encoded part of the journalist's brain. I only know that we—the media—surely I mean Maclean's readers from this critique—are hurting democracy. We aren't just missing an opportunity to help the public make sense of things at a critical time. We're making things worse. We're actually getting in the way.

Consider what has already happened in this campaign—and we're not yet two weeks in. We spent an entire day discussing puffin poop. We discussed, at scarcely less length, David's hearing problems, if Harper is a fruit or a vegetable, and whether Elizabeth May

once called Considine "insult." We've published a poll a day—some more two or three—and analyzed each one of them on all seven news as if it held any significance whatever, beyond the fact that we commissioned it ("Poll suggests Harper could be headed for majority," the Canadian Press reported last Friday. "Whoopi?" "Majority may elude Conservatives," Reuters reported, the following Monday.)

But like this, it sounds harmless enough—a lot of blather, maybe, but all in good fun. Isn't it when we get serious that we do the most damage: not because we aren't trying, but because we are. These aren't lapses. They're deliberate choices. They betray an attitude, a lens through which we view the news we



**Politicians learn from their mistakes, sometimes. The media keep repeating theirs.**

are supposed to be covering, and our own role in it.

The question most readers, I suspect, or certainly most voters would like answered is the content of any campaign. What are these people, and what are they going to do to us? Tell us about the candidates who are running for office, their values and character. And tell us what they would do with the power they seek from us, their policies and platform. If you need to add a little colour to make it entertaining, fine, but don't let that obscure the main point.

What, instead, does it tell them? We tell them what's ahead, over and over and over. And, of course, who's behind. And when we get one or another of the candidates on TV, we ask them why they're in politics—over and over and over, apparently in the hope that if we keep at it long enough, we might make them cry

We speculate on whether the ones who are ahead can stay ahead, or whether they have peaked too soon. And whatever space we have left we devote to the strategy.

Read the coverage in any major daily on any given day. Watch the editors. It's not about the election—it's about the campaign who's ahead, the minutiae of the day's biggest events and, above all, the strategy and tactics behind it all. Among other things, this requires us to give over some of our and time to the deep thoughts of some or another of the many thousands of thinkers so engaged with what this country is apparently endowed. Understand that these are paid employees, people who spend their entire working lives studying up ways to twist the truth to their clients' advantage ("spin," we call it, which is itself an example of it.) This is probably unavoidable, possibly even necessary, but it is certainly nothing to be encouraged, let alone admired. (They are tedious enough in their own. They are asked in panels of these.)

But here's the thing, in his secret heart of hearts, that's who the journalist wishes he was—one of the players, the guys in the rooms, and not one of those legions of dragons who must forever stand and wait outside the door. We write about the horse race, the polls and the strategy, not because it matters to our readers, but because it matters to the press, the people we cover, the people we idolize. We pursue their language, even as we already their values: the latest campaign ad is analysed from any number of angles—Will it work? Is

it on message?—except the most obvious line: true?

And when we fire that, we write about ourselves. Consider this: thanks to a CF Factory survey in the campaign, "The Conservatives are pulling back from an election strategy to set thoughtful new agenda with one-of-their news conferences each day of the campaign." So far, so good. But why the retreat? Well, as the first such meeting, we are told, "appeared all but ignored the non-partisan media (see Dine) and instead questioned the two candidates on high-growth jobs, tax policy and purported attempts to muzzle Tory candidates."

Reporting about reporting. Campaigns about campaigns. We're all in a mortal peril of disappearing up our own backslides. ■

**ON THE WEB** For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at [www.macleans.ca/andrewcoyne](http://www.macleans.ca/andrewcoyne)



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# Where politics is a whole lot spicier than here



BARBARA AMIEL

There are a way to verify the account of Anna Leonowens, the English governess to the children of King Mongkut of Siam in the early 1800s. Her writing is said to be inaccurate and sentimental. All we have is another book based on him, and the *Rodgers & Hammerstein* musical *The King and I* based on that, which became a hugely popular sentimental film with Deborah Kerr in hoop skirts showing magnificent British condescension to bewildered Victorian as the king of Siam. In fact, King Mongkut was a real-earner, the first monarch to allow subjects to look directly at him. But facing forward is a tricky business for absolute monarchies, and in 1903 a coup ended Siam's

new, later in Thailand and is king in the 10-year-old constitution of monarch King Bhumibol, also known as Rama IX. Her nation problems caused by modern politics.

With China to the north and Muslim separatism to the south, Thailand's political life has been a balancing act that balances what do it is the only country in Southeast Asia never colonized or occupied. During the Second World War, Japan desecrated Thailand's sacred war on the U.S., so it did not even thought to acknowledge itself (despite the declaration). The Americans left the Thai alone as they considered the war declaration began—made partly under duress.

Today, Thailand is an one of many that have political periods. At the centre is the 100-year-old figure of paragon Bhumibol Rama IX. In 1946 Thaksin founded a political party called Thai Love Thai, which tells you right away that politics in Thailand is more interesting than in the West. The party challenged the Bangkok elite and based its support on the huge hinterland alienated from Bangkok politics—rather like Alabama.

Thaksin's party was in 2001 and delivered

on promises of affordable health care and development aid. Thaksin also attacked the corrupt gam tan, which came in handy in 2006 when he sold his family's telecom stake to Singapore interests for nearly \$2 billion tax-free. This created considerable controversy and the opposition became grumpy. Thaksin dissolved parliament for new elections, which his opponents—saying they would lose—boycotted, enabling him to win almost all seats. The opposition got the military to depose Thaksin in a bloodless coup, but unfortunately the new election brought in his deputy, Samak Sundaravej.

Samak was not exactly your typical PM either. His television cooking show *Samak and Granching* had made him one of the best-known people in the country. After preparing dishes, he commented acidulously and often crudely on current affairs and individual Thai. Readers interested in fusion cooking can get his popular recipe for "pigs legs in Coca Cola" online.

A political party called Thais Love Thais tells you instantly things are more interesting



IN AND OUT: PM Samak (left) deposed PM Thaksin

Meanwhile, Thailand's Constitutional Tribunal, whose devotion to the constitution is not subject to, outlawed Thai Love Thai, which reorganized under the less evocative name of the People's Power Party. This July, Thaksin's wife was found guilty of various counts of tax evasion. Thaksin himself was already facing corruption charges and had \$2 billion of his assets frozen. Mr and Mrs T went off to the Olympic Games in Beijing, denouncing the way horses in London where Thaksin declared himself a political refugee and the couple forfeited substantial bail, though less than the capital gains tax owed.

Feeling frisky as it suits, the Constitutional Tribunal ruled last week that PM Samak and his entire cabinet must resign on account of Samak had accepted (about \$3,000) for appearances on his old cooking show while in office. This was good news to the political class of Bangkok, who had been

chafing under the favour of democracy's insouciance that made them subject to government by noisy outsiders they had long managed to ignore. Weeks ago, 10,000 anti-government protesters moved into the premier's compound, where they remain. Samak declared a state of emergency and ordered the army to clear everyone out. The army refused, indecisively an act of military, and Samak called for a referendum on whether he should stay (a vote he would most certainly win) and went home to set up office there.

Who needs a second arrest warrant was issued by a Thai court for Thaksin, who, having just sold his Manchester City football team to Abu Dhabi (a British football club) is the main-bank account for foreign billions in the U.K. and comes in handy in Thailand where millions watch Premier League football, is now claiming a bit of a defender of democracy against corrupt elites and of opposition against socialist class.

Samak is accusing the military of panch-

ism and the court of political bias. Both Thaksin and Samak accuse their opponents of being corrupt hypocrites, disparaging ordinary Thais living in remote locations with Bangkok houses. The Thai House leadership dem of Thailand accuses Thaksin of corruption and Samak of being a reliable voter and non-ambitious. All allegations are probably well founded.

Thailand has been increasingly successful largely because of its receptiveness to foreign capital. But in Neil English's of Princeton's

Institute for Advanced Study wrote in *Asian Survey* in 2005, the advances of Thai democracy are more closely linked to economic globalization than modernization. Capital markets like political stability and democracy and Thailand had both. But modern democracy is messy and capricious, not for those used to tidy despots and exclusivity. Hence the Thai protest alliance, many of whose members been prominent military rule in the '70s and '80s in favour of parliamentary democracy and now call for a People's Revolutionary Government—a typical "people's revolution" connecting voting to its own supporters. As Canadians prepare to plunk for into the tidal depths of a Dion or Duceppe speech, they might reflect that unremarkable as our politics are, interesting times may be coming to this about but a damn come to live in. ■

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## 'Only Bill Clinton and Richard Nixon were a match for Cheney in terms of intellect and command of substance'

**PULITZER WINNER BARTON GELLMAN TALKS TO KATE FILLION ABOUT BUSH'S NASTINESS, CHENEY'S SECRETS AND WHY HE'S NO DARTH VADER**

**Q** Your info, Angler, is Dick Cheney's Secret Service code name list also has nuclear secrets? As vice president, he's played the angler to ensure unopposed power, acting almost as co-president or prince. Could this happen again?

As the confluence of talents and personal traits and strengths and weaknesses and circumstances is unprecedented and probably

unlikely to occur. You had an extraordinarily experienced and bureaucratically gifted vice-president, a new President without the know-

provision, a new criterion without waiting for experience at, in fact, enormous amounts of executive experience at all, and an enormous challenge in national security, which was Cheney's strength and an area in which Bush was especially inexperienced. Also, Bush's working style is to set grand directions and keep a watchful eye high up on the mast, as one person I interviewed put it, and Cheney was right down there as the leader rises.

**A** Cheney was among the best secretaries of defense the country has ever had. He was

As Bush gave him an enormous amount of running room and he was very nicely Chinese unboasted, which wasn't suited so that a line. He did not have any regulator on his and for principle. If it was a matter of principle, he just would not bend, and that was highly self-destructive.

**Q:** But this is also the guy who handed Bush's solution over to the president, then collected himself. What's he doing by personal ambition as much as principle?

At a time when Cheney became vice president I think the president gradually became more open-minded, and he avoided the procedure of collecting nonverbal and damaging information on other candidates—that was his job, at that time. But that—his no one collected on him. For example, he had done it once on every page of their own candidates' medical records. But he had his own doctor brief George Bush and say he was in fundamentally good health, and the second opinion was from Dennis Cooley, a well-known heart surgeon who was the public face of this campaign, vouching for Cheney's health. It turned out when I interviewed Dr. Cooley that he'd never actually seen Cheney or even even one page of his medical records.

**Q:** Unlike most vice-presidents, Cheney always knew, if only because of the latent problems, that he would never be president. How did that knowledge influence him?

As it helped get him the job, George Bush pruned frills to the top guy gets much.

above everything else. Cheney very subtly and ingeniously cleverly helped plan the white lie in the 2000 campaign that any body who really wanted the job too much was inherently a left misanthrope, because ambivalence meant that you'd be looking for ways to accumulate your own power to the detriment of the president. But having no further ambition is not at all the same thing as having no agenda. And the fact that Cheney was never going to run for public office again did liberate him somewhat so he even less interested in public opinion than he was otherwise.

Q: Chancy has the aura and a purposefully inscrutable. What kind of person is he?

A: He is very often a charming man. He is exceptionally well controlled in his temper and deeply decent on a personal level. He does not have attitudes, he does not yell at his staff, he does not intimidate people, all of which George Bush has been known to do. There's a common misconception that Bush is the nice guy, Ewing and Chancy are. David Miller, that behind closed doors, anybody who's worked for them has seen some pretty mean, nasty, angry behavior by the President, but you would be hard pressed to find somebody who's seen that, more, with

Q You wrote that after 9/11, "The vice-pres ident shifted America's course, more than any American could have done." How, exactly?

At times are some things that would not have happened as they did but for Dick Cheney.

One, an early new program of domestic espionage got underway, conceived and managed by the vice president, which arguably was the first ever substantial intelligence operation has been so successful. Two, there was a conscious, secret and sustained effort to break down legal barriers against the use of cruelty in interrogation policy, the Geneva Conventions, the U.S. criminal code and arguably the convention against torture never set aside. Both of these are deeply principled decisions on Cheney's part. He believes that the U.S. faces a moral choice, that the terrorists have the moral trust. What he did caught, and tried to do entirely in secret, was to document fully what he felt the limits of the law were and push it along as far as he could.

The second question I asked him was whether the president would decide what the justice department found guilty of terrorism

**Q** Yet he more or less dropped some female mental-governance past the President and made sure no one else advised him. It's hard to argue

**A**lthough it's a very intelligent strategy, but he is not too smart. But not a guy who will study others and leverage for success. And looking at his career path, he was once graduate in the school. The very thought here is we are not going to confide to various agencies, we're not going to let ourselves with dumb legal level to ourselves—that sounded just like a Noah. The problem, for Noah, was that not every guy people were in on the conversation, as the demands, the rules and the disallowances were not made clear to him. And in fact, any one who tried to raise the issue was particularly on his own the position of being the very worst, the worst.

**Q:** You show how Cheney's habit of excluding the President from opposing points of view nearly caused the administration to implode over the reauthorization of the domestic surveillance program. Did Bush become a better president, after that incident?

As Bush became a different president, so did the degree. He found out very early on, as he did, that the red-baiters were more than a month before they lost the legitimacy of domestic surveillance, in which he was aware clearly, if at all. Only as the last season in, when the FBI director and the top five layers of the Justice Department and some people in the intelligence agencies were about to resign on principle, did Bush find out that Cheney had been trying to suppress partisan rebelliousness. It was very clear to a complete political disaster. Not in the White House. Bush could have been the 2001 election of the last had mass migrations. So he learned to keep a direct eye on Cheney and after his advice a little more. He understood Cheney's objectives and agreed with

the exchange part, but a president has to consider other factors, including political sustainability of a policy. And Cheney just was not inclined to do that.

**Q:** He used his principles even to justify unprincipled behaviour

At Dick Cheney's first news event, he was not trying to offend himself or his friends. He was trying to do what he thought necessary for the country. His views are extreme but sincerely held, and he was prepared to use every power at his command and the President's is reserved, including keeping things secret and occasionally killing someone. Dick Cheney, who was the House majority leader, Republicans, one day that Cheney told him things Cheney knew he had to say in order to have his voice as powerful as ever with Cheney thought it was just that important, and the

**Q** Do you think Cheney was a necessary aide for McCain, who decided, "a powerful, experienced number two is dangerous?"

As Cheney is now the least popular VP in the history of modern polling. His approval ratings have slipped from the 60s down to the 30s. It was a pretty sharp repudiation when Cheney was used as a laugh line by multiple comedians in the Republican primaries.

Q This may be completely off base, but your depiction of Cheney—his intellect and mastery of nuance, his work ethic—brings to mind Bill Clinton.

A. Someone else who makes this comparison is Alan Greenspan, who until recently headed the central bank in the U.S. He's worked with every president since Nixon, and told people privately that only Bill Clinton and Richard Nixon were a match for Cheney in terms of intellect and command of self space, and that neither of them was a match for him in terms of the ability to translate strategic objectives into operational plans.

Q: I've made so many bad decisions. What was the worst?

A: If you think about the things Cheney actually cared about—economic growth, energy production, national security—things he was not worried about very well, though that's not the reason the fact that there's not been a repetition of the 9/11 attacks, and that's not because al-Qaeda has suddenly decided they're not going to do that anymore. Cheney claims credit for that on behalf of the President and their policies, which is hard to prove or disprove. Rather than a single desire, I would say the most troubling quality was that Cheney was not concerned of his own negligence and the urgency of the problems he faced that he was driven to break free of any almost any constraint on his power and

the presidential power, and that led him to worry, back channels of policy, to crossing boundaries of domestic and international law that no previous occupant of the White House had tried to cross.

**Q:** What does he take his measure?

[illegible]

**'He was prepared to use every power at his command and the President's, including telling untruths'**

larger class of documents eventually corrupt (on release by the national) archives long after [the administration responsible for them] have been the White House.

**Q.** Do you think he still has faith history will judge him favorably?

A: No one ought to be under any illusion that Cheney privately thinks himself a failure. I don't think he has any doubt at all that the course he and the President set has been the right one. ■

# HARPER'S CANADIAN REVOLUTION

**The Prime Minister isn't just fighting an election. He's bent on reorienting the nation.**



PAUL WELLS

Aboard Stephen Harper's chartered campaigner on northern Ontario last week, the allotted 15 minutes for the Conservative leader's exit interview with *Maclean's* had expired. Campaign director Kory Tenkate was quickly attempting to give the reporter the hook. But Harper was in an expansive mood. He offered to rehearse more questions. That question was about "legacy," a word that made the Prime Minister wince his eyes and cheeks uncharacteristically, and about what he has accomplished as a conservative trying to advance conservative ideas in Canada.

Like a ball player afraid of losing his game, Harper refused to speculate about whatever legacy he might leave behind. "Too early," but he did bite on the question about conservatism. His long answer provides a handy guide to what he's trying to accomplish in this crucial moment in what is already a long Canada's conservative political career.

"The thing I'm proudest of, obviously, is bringing all these different people together under one tent," Harper said, speaking deliberately, pressing them to consider his new phrase.

"Otherwise, conservatives have been pulled together in the past on several different occasions. But it's usually been a band of a 'throw out the bums.' And you had a whole bunch of elements elected that didn't make much of a coalition.

"I actually think this time, we pulled together a bunch of elements from different regions of the country that actually fit together pretty well. We've got some people who are a little more on the left—but they're certainly not left-wing. We've got people who are a little more on the right—but I certainly don't think they're some of the extremes you saw in the past. In Quebec we've started to build a Conservative party that actually has a federal Conservative organization, as opposed to being just home-rule parties from the provincial level,

which is what we've seen in the past."

His "long-term goal," Harper said, "is to make Conservatives the natural governing party of the country. And I'm a realist. You do that two ways. Two things you have to do. One thing you do is you have to pull conservatives, to pull the party, to the centre of the political spectrum. But what you also have to do, if you're really serious about making transformation, is you have to pull the centre of the political spectrum toward conservatism.

"And whichever an agenda that has high emphasis on tax reduction is opposed to spending increases, an agenda that focuses on delivering benefits to people and to fundamental improving businesses, whether it's entering grids in the country—not just in Chicago, like you know, health care or various government programs, but public in things like our institutions, our military, our history—I think we're also doing that. We're also building the country around a definition of itself that is more in line with conservatism. Maybe not in line with what some conservative parties thought in the past or what every conservative thinks, but it's a goal and a mix."

All the elements of Harper's long-term plan for Canada are in that answer. From day to day the Prime Minister can be as full of surprises, so confounding to his opponents and even to some of his supporters, that it almost always helps to take the long view when trying to figure him out. Ever since he returned to electoral politics in 2002 after running the National Citizens Coalition, Harper's career has been built on a few defining ideas. Conservatism and what's feasible to do, discipline, he has sought to gather the diverse strains of Canadian conservatism into a single cohesive party. Western populists, Ontario and Atlantic Canadian Tories, and Quebec

like nationalists all have to feel as home as with Harper. He wants to make his party competitive with the Liberals, not just on or far as long as Harper is leader, but for election after election. For decades there is a constant tension in his politics between a short-term impulse to bag the centre and a long-term determination to move it—to transform Canadian society. Harper captures that tension when he calls himself a realist. It's the label a man gives himself when he is willing to take many detours on his way to



his destination. When he is so intent on his long-term goal that he will not let most principles get in the way of reaching that goal.

Just about all these elements were on display within 24 hours of Harper's campaign plane landing in Toronto. Morning and the lunch hour were devoted to demonstrations of feasibility.

Harper has been famously standoffish, even hostile, toward the preliminary press gallery. But now he invited every reporter.

**TASTE OF THE FUTURE** Harper refuses to let this principle stand in his way.



**HARPER IS SO FULL OF SURPRISES HE CONFOUNDS EVEN SUPPORTERS**

trekking with him to an arena, on the second "breakfast" (he ate no food and drank only water).

He has been withering in his criticism of opposition parties that wanted to "cut and run" from Afghanistan. But at the breakfast, he said the end of the current parliamentary mandate for the Canadian deployment there, 2011, will mark the end of Canada's military mission in Afghanistan. "You have to put an end date on these things," he said. "We intend to end it."

Almost exactly a year earlier, in an address to the Australian parliament in Canberra, Harper had said, "I don't see the United Nations taking Canada to a level of intervention, or the Canadian military arguing to pull out on common date, or the military fleet due to do that," he said. "I don't see our allies arguing to do that. In fact I see all these little Australia that are increasing their commitment."

Soon after that breakfast with Harper, campaign reporters got another surprise: Harper was dropping his appearance to Green party

leader Elizabeth May's participation in the televised leaders' debates. The Conservatives, Bloc, and NDP had opposed giving May a podium because they saw her in a stalking horse for the Liberals. But the Bloc captain stood, and now Layton was reversing position. "If the NDP has decided they are changing their position," Harper's spokesman Tanya Gaudin said, "we will not stand alone on that point."

Only a few hours, Harper had reminded everyone why his opponents have so much trouble getting him down. He can be slippery even in a ground pig. But the rest of the day showed that he can also be fearfully straightforward.

In breakfast Harper had told reporters, "I honestly think the problems we've got in Toronto, where we haven't done as well, is not that there are more Liberals but that conservatives don't vote Conservative—especially new Canadians."

Now came his first public event, a handshake speech to the Indo-Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Vaughan, on the northern edge of Toronto. The organization's president's warm welcome to Harper would have come as a surprise to anyone who remembers Bill Martin as the guy who was obsessed with China and India, or who views Harper as an angular leader who appeals to small towns, white bread interests.

Two years ago, Harper told the crowd, he promised a closer trade relationship between Canada and India. Now he was here to say he delivered. "We have expanded operations at our trade missions in Delhi and Mumbai and announced new trade offices in Hyderabad and Colombo. And I might mention as well that we are determined that if elected, we will give our country a commercial presence in the state of Gujarat."

The applause here was loud and sustained. Reporters swarming with Harper didn't take the bait. The only daily newspaper to carry the announcement the next day was the *Times of India*. But it drew their attention because of implementation, Harper's announcement will constitute a major policy change. Successive Canadian governments have essentially blacklisted Gujarat, a relatively prosperous province in western India, since Hindu-Muslim clashes in 2002 left 2,000 people dead. But what's most interesting in Conservative arguments is that the Gujarat community in Toronto has 150,000 people, in a decade. It is the fastest growing South Asian community in Canada's big city. And now this Harper had given them a reason to cheer him.

Crowd colleagues Lawrence, where Conservative candidate Joe Oliver hopes to pick off Liberal incumbent Joe Volpe. Harper told the crowd he found himself thinking of the







## HE'S RELAXED FIELDING POLICY QUESTIONS AT LENGTH

When Harper and the NDP's Jack Layton thrust themselves to allow Green Leader Elizabeth May into the televised debate, Dion chose not to exhibit in much. Dion though he was the only party leader who had wanted May in all along, he took only the mildest jab at Harper and Layton for "backtracking" before declaring it "a good day for women and for democracy."

Imagine how Harper or Layton would have laid it on if either found themselves alone on the right side of the big story of the day. But that's Dion. It's not that he's hangout now—when Harper dined the Green Shift might spark a resurgence of Quebec separatism, a really funny Dion all but spat as he declared that didn't need "any lessons from Stephen Harper on fighting for the national unity of my country." It's just that when silence doesn't fit naturally in him, he won't get the politician's knack for working it up on cue. For long stretches of campaigning, Dion settles into professional calm. It's as he's relaxed best in a close-on-or-town hall setting, fielding policy questions at length, the more aware the better.

The Conservatives have named that trait against him, depicting Dion as an "ideal professor." He calls this the "shadow opponent" that Harper has conjured up to not against "I am anything but malleable," Dion said, not denying his frustration, in an interview with *Maclean's* on his campaign plane. "My real home is not so much Montreal, it's the high Laurentians with all the mosquitoes. I love forests in a very subtle way, my imagination."

He volunteers, as an example of how he doesn't fit the ivory tower stereotype, his semiregular tennis game. Even though he went to Montreal's Dawson College, one of a deadly shooting two years ago, to odd for a born on military elite small town, Dion asserts that he's perfectly comfortable around hunting rifles. "I don't hunt, I fish, but I have lots



GREEN SHUTTLE in Burlington, B.C. (top) and with wife Joanne Krutier. Bill professional.

of friends who are hunters," he says. "I know a good hunter is the best ally of wildlife. He wants to pass this gift of Mother Nature on to his children."

Then, of course, in keeping with his party's bid to be bright, his wooded, unpretentious, wear-tear-and-tear, as featured in a Liberal video designed to recruit his image. Still, the Dion who shows up most days on the hustings seems to find the angle who ended in the biggest pile on the lake last summer, and even like the Paris-educated Ph.D. who taught public administration and political science at the University of Montreal from 1964 to 1996. If he's going to win over those swing voters at the back of the hall, it's not going to be because they decide he's a regular guy. It's going to be because they can include him the surest guy on the ballot, and that his Green Shift is not some wild scheme but is perfectly in keeping with his professed brand of fiscal prudence. Liberalism, in the mode of Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin. And that all that makes him safe enough for a trait in St. James St.

It's an almost largely a matter of leaders' prisms—Harper's sweater vest and pants in Dion's cross-country trail and windproof sweater—the incoherence still runs. Easier for voters to stick with the focus group-tested persona they know. But Dion would stand a fighting chance in a battle of pure policy and party brands. So he's trying to turn social-market turmoil and economic unease into a reminder that, not so long ago, Liberals were pushing over the top federal programs and sustained prosperity. He craves a crystallizing moment, perhaps in the Oct. 14 televised debate, when his policies and Harper's, especially on climate change, are sharply contrasted. "I would like to see a new bill. I'm coming and saying, 'I've done my homework, I know why I don't like the Liberal plan,'" he says. "Then I would love that debate."

Mike no mistake about whose campaign Dion is saying. It's all his Liberal officials say he's managed to succeed, from which TV ads as he has dashed back attacks, so what phrase makes it into his story speech (he's been known to grab the lap top from one of his two main writers, and tip out new text himself). More than anything, his Green Shift—possibly better than any platform since Martin's 1996 free trade plan—has his personal sense of mission, as much as it does his party's policy.

Dion proposes more than \$1 billion in new taxes aimed at putting a 542 per cent price on global warming-causing carbon emissions, most notably from burning coal to produce electricity. The "inflation" price of the plan would give back an equal \$1.5 billion to taxpayers, in personal income tax cuts, enhanced benefits for lower-income earners, a small corporate tax cut, and new credits and deductions for rural and open-space residents.

Just before Dion unveiled details of the carbon tax last June, Harper launched a pro-creative while by announcing it as "new." That an election for "Liby dream of the plan" like it or not, though, it is plainly one way. As Dion often mentions, carbon taxes are in place in other well-governed countries, including Sweden, and mainstream Canadian experts support the concept. Like Jack Minns, a business-friendly tax guru and professor at Ubertown's local name, the University of Calgary. The Green Shift is, however, complicated in its details. Like Dion himself, the carbon tax is hard to wrap up to but those who fully buy in and to become increasingly devoted.

Still, even many loyal Liberals aren't won't work up much real enthusiasm about it. David Rogers, a Saint John lawyer and a Liberal activist since his teens, compares it to the far more modest sales tax, or HST, the unique Maritime blend of the GST and provincial sales taxes. "The way I look at the Green Shift,"

Rogers says, "is that none of us here were all that in favour of the HST—I've still got much in favour of it—but we came to live with it." In other words, so your vegetables. Not exactly a rousing slogan. Yet Rogers suggests the problem is not an unstable policy, so much as Dion's low-key salesmanship. "He's got to let people know that he's a factor to be dealt with in this country," he urges.

Up since Dion does convey a sort of fire-breathing intensity when he talks about the Green Shift. What gets him most fired up is talking about how a policy that starts out in say to our Canada's greenhouse gas emissions will, if it succeeds, turn into a catalyst for prosperity. Burning fossil fuels, he contends, not only had led the environment, it's getting too expensive. Thus to spur Canadian households and companies to boost energy efficiency, explore renewable options, and get ahead of an inevitable move away from the old petroleum-based economy. "Energy efficiency," Dion says, "is the way to be competitive in a world where cheap oil is going."

Assured Dion isn't grasping an essential challenge of the early 21st century. He might just have chosen a bad moment to try to get voters to contemplate it, just as he's been less real and the central Canadian manufacturing sector, in particular, undergoes a



## WHY YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT STEPHANE DION

**Early days** Back of scholar Leon D. on and Olympia (the daughter) a Paris-born realist. Stéphane Dion gave up at the all-time Quebec City schools of St. Mary's.

**School days** Dion studied in sociology at a teacher while attending a Jesuit college in Quebec City—mainly so he could challenge his fellow-student father.

**First job** He briefly taught postcard lessons at the Université de Sherbrooke before moving to the Université de Montréal in 1981.

**Getting married** He met his wife Joanne Krutier while consulting in P.M. at Université Laval. Together they worked in the P.M. program at the Institut d'études politiques in Paris and moved to Montserrat, where they were "politically living on pasta."

**Likes, dislikes** Dion's favourite film is *Belgian under Jacques*, which he's never read. He is a fan of the 1980 classic *Le grand bleu* of André.

partial construction. But Dion insists this is precisely the right time to consider how environmental damage in the right orange choice, particularly for Ontario's troubled

west sector. "If we had had the Green Shift 20 years ago," he says, "I think we would be building the cities of tomorrow in Canada, not the cars of yesterday."

Some worried Liberal party insiders—stung by early polls showing Dion failing to break through and Harper creating toward majority territory—are already muttering about the need to make their campaign's focus away from the Green Shift. It's not just that the broad thrust of the policy is tough to get across. Some of those barriers at the back of the room are still worried it might raise the price of gas at the pump. (It wouldn't, says Dion's team, would the country did end once you into the new carbon tax.) But other Liberals contend that continuing to stress the Green Shift is the only way to contrast Dion, constitution politicians, against Harper, former ecologist, now born-again opportunist. According to this view, Dion only began to feel in his full potential as a leader when he embraced the carbon tax as his defining quest.

The story goes like this: Dion entered politics, invited to Ottawa by Jean Chrétien after the near catastrophe of the 1995 referendum in Quebec, to defend federalism in his home province. He weathered waves of attacks from the sovereigntists, and finally pushed through

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the Clarity Act against unrelenting opposition, setting clear rules for any future vote on separation. When Paul Martin lost the 2006 election, Dion emerged as a dark horse candidate to succeed him. Thanks to a well-supported pact with another long shot, Gerald Kennedy, he came from behind at a thrilling convention in Montreal, winning in a upset victory over leading contenders Michael Ignatieff and Bob Rae.

But Dion failed to convert that convention magic, as made as his hand won reputation in a party prison, into early traction in the polls. Instead, the Tories moved quickly with attack ads, earning him in a perpetually shagging now-leader who finds saving priorities too

OPENING UP a wedge's hard, Dion grins at wedge issues



## THE SMOULDERING DISDAIN FOR BOTH HARPER AND LAYTON COMES AS A BIT OF A SURPRISE

hard. They worried what will go down is one of the most perilous of that's the word for negative advertising in Canadian political history.

Even Liberals who remain firmly behind Dion tend to view those early 2007 ads as the beginning of a debilitating image problem he's still struggling to overcome on the fringes. "He is a deeply misunderstood man," said one senior party organizer, after polls showed the Liberals far back of the Tories at the end of that campaign's first week.

Among insiders, including many Liberal MPs, Dion's reputation for toughness has been somewhat restored in recent months. After losing McMeelan's Ontario seat riding in a by-election, Dion quickly brought in Johnce Senecal, a veteran operator from the Charbonneau firm, first as his principal secretary, and then chief of staff. He rehabilitated Senator David Smith, an Ontario Liberal campaign

warhorse and icon of stability in the party, running him a campaign as chair.

Having revamped his team, Dion needed a purpose. He found it when off-the-record sources inside the party, notably MPs Steve Brown and John Godfrey, who have retired from politics, urged him to consider a carbon tax, a concept Dion had previously rejected. In March, he endorsed the idea in a meeting with some of his Vancouver staff. On June 13, he unveiled a detailed policy in Ottawa. The big announcement came just after Dion had rejected pleas from Michael Ignatieff, Bob Rae and many others to focus on early summer elections.

As much as the new policy the way they scored down those powerful forces should

have up. It happened in a crucial meeting of the party's planning and priorities committee, held in Parliament Hill's Block, a gleaming modern edifice once described by diplomat and diarist Charles Wintour as "a standing rebuke to progress." Toronto MP Martha Hall Findlay, one of Dion's former leadership rivals, says he displayed newly resolved to that meeting. "Something very calmly said, 'I appreciate your input, but I've made my decision,'" she says, recalling a scene in the room that even those

directly. Yet in his Montreal interview, he did just that. "I'm sure he knows that cutting the GST was bad policy," Dion says. "But he thought to win the [2006] election, because the people say what they say, you have to use with these simplistic things."

Again in that race, he accuses Harper of pleading. "I'm sure he knows that cutting two cents off the tax is almost a stupid thing to do," Dion says. "But at the same time, it's the way to buy the vote of the people, because the people are like this, you know?" As for himself, Dion says he trusts voters to absorb even as he makes a policy threat as his Green Shift. "It's one that I am on neither side," he says. "But I am done so the people I take the time to explain what I'm thinking. And because with garbage, he ends the people with low blow attack ads. What's wrong with respect for the people?"

Dion is at least as dismissive of Layton. Asked if vote splitting among the Liberals, NDP and Greens will someday force left-of-center parties to join forces, he rejects building bridges as a federal NDP that "has no discipline." He needs Layton's big \$1 billion four-year campaign promise to save the manufacturing sector as a widely expensive. "It's \$1 billion just like this," Dion scoffs. "It's the corporations will pay!"

And this gives him the opening he's been waiting for to test his Liberals as economic and fiscal managers. He lays claim not only to Martin's deficit-declaring legacy, but to businessman Greg Weston's stretching back to William Lyon Mackenzie King. "Traditionally, the Liberal party has 10 spenders that have a big heart, and one cent-right-wing guy who cares about the economy," Dion says. "And the person in power in the government."

With rock markets rattled and the economy flailing, Dion is trying to establish his reputation about sound economic stewardship to his Green Shift pitch. At the same time, he's moving to make Harper wear the current downturn, and drive home the point that Ottawa's finances are more generous after 24 years of Tory rule than they were following 13 years under the Liberals.

He's asking voters to meld together two rather dissimilar reasons for voting for him: his on the carbon tax for the long term, but hedge by taxing Liberals' million for the short term. He's asking them to vote him as a reason any on the environment, and a pragmatist on the economy. At the back of the room, those undecided listeners are listening to sort out the two-pronged message, to give this scrappy politician his due. With the polls slanting against him, though, Dion has to hope they're not enough to decide voters, and that he's still willing to be persuaded, for him to pull off his biggest upset yet. ■

As well, Dion's smouldering disdain for both Harper and Layton is perhaps surprising, given the supposedly mild-mannered professor. Dion makes a point in public of insisting that he doesn't question Harper's

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swayed for the moment.) The Bloc leader has instead successfully pursued the federal vote in the province, to help "save Canada" by preventing a Conservative majority, while repelling the Bloc's flaccid post-independence mission of being the best representative of Quebecers' values in Ottawa. (This degree having received less than half of the province's voters in 2006.) "I'm not here to make a review of the last campaign," Duquet said last week when asked about the *Alain* report. "I've been so in this campaign."

Université de Montréal political science professor Pierre Martin has an idea why Duquet is in this state of willful ignorance. The Bloc, he says, mustn't try to secure the right flank of Quebec's nationalist vote—the *pro-gas*, anti Kyoto type personified by Jacques Giguère—simply because it isn't, usually speaking. "The party is more interested in presenting a unified front and making lasting certain rightist ideologies, then including severesties of all aspects and going to Ottawa with a hodgepodge of different ideas," Martin says. "You can't have eight different personalities when you are called a 'Bloc.'"

For long time, Martin points out, Duquet's purposeful behind-a-rock didn't matter much, but he was just asked the same question repeatedly. Moreover, there were one more federal election and Conservative, splitting the remaining vote. That is, in 2006, the Bloc was able to capture 60 per cent of the province's seats with only 41 per cent of the vote.

Harper's recognition of the Quebec nation changed all this. A "rather easy political season" in Martin's estimation, the bill recognizing the Quebec as "a nation within a united Canada" nonetheless enraged its ardent nationalists who began to fill Conservative ranks in earnest. Before the Quebec declaration, Martin says, the average rural nationalist was *highly* organized. Though he wholeheartedly disagreed with the Bloc's position on same-sex marriage and euthanasia, to name just two, he nonetheless voted for the party because he was a sovereigntist; the Conservative or Liberal platforms might have been appealing, but the federalist view of Canada—a centralized federation in which Quebec was just another province—was unacceptable. The Quebec nation bill, and the Conservative party that introduced it, was a step out.



## NEW CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS COULD BE A BOON TO THE BLOC'S FORTUNES

The Bloc still remains formidable in the province. Though support for the party has cooled over the last three elections—from 49 per cent in the Bloc's salad days of the sponsorship scandal to between 30 and 34 per cent at the beginning of this campaign, according to several polls—Duquet is still far and away the most popular leader of the three major federal parties in Quebec. He

### WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT GILLES DUCEPPE

**Early days** Duquet was born in Montreal on July 22, 1945, to the famous Québec City actor Jean Duquet and his wife Helene. He says Duquet has a son that he developed an early distrust for anglophones, but his maternal grandfather John James Healey was a British-born immigrant who arrived in Canada at the age of 16.

**School days** In Grade 6, his Englishophone teacher blamed him for complaining about the prefectural board treatment given to Anglo students on school buses. He dropped her back.

**First job** His first job was in Montreal with the Company of Young Canadians, a government-funded volunteer agency whose members tended to have strong Marxist and separatist views. He later worked as a hospital orderly, but he was fired for his aggressive spirit.

**Getting married** In 1978, he married Yolande Brunelle, an education consultant who kept her last name, as per the Quebec tradition. They have two children, Amélie and Alain, who both work in the travel business.

**Likes/dislikes** On the campaign bus, he is said to relate to his fellow Blocers Jean Jodan and Maria Côté.

### DUCEPPE downplays the Bloc's Montreal reputation

made a notable appearance at the Festival Westcoast 50-Ten, a hugely popular cowboy-belt and flaps affair in the small town of St-Tite—an apparent attempt to downplay the party's Mont real-centric reputation. And just after former Bloc MP openly questioned the significance of the party, others leapt to its defense. Eleven former MPs, as it happens, as the freedom were from the right, said the Bloc is Quebec's bulwark against over-crooping Canadians in the province. "Contrary to what certain liberals would say, the Bloc Québécois is, as pertinent as ever," they

wrote in an open letter published in *Le Devoir*. "The Bloc Québécois is Quebec's only true party in Ottawa."

Duquet has also taken to speaking about the Constitution. Quebec, he has reminded journalists at several campaign stops over the last week, has yet to sign it. "Mr. Harper and all federalists in Ottawa have said that the time is not ripe for constitutional talks," he said in a stop in Montargison. "They don't want to talk about it, but we need to continue this debate." It is a familiar refrain. Throughout the campaign so far, Duquet has been relatively mute on the subject of an either referendum on sovereignty—all the better, perhaps, to garner those federalist votes. But is calling for renewed constitutional talks, he is working back to the last Conservative step of the province in 1995, thanks largely to Brian Mulroney's promise to "fix" Quebec's constitutional status. The failure of the midnight March 31 accord reawakened sovereign sentiment in the province and ultimately led to the formation of the Bloc Québécois.

A similar situation could be a boon to the party, but to count on another failed round of constitutional talks to buy the new life into the Bloc may be a bit much. And in the mean time there is Helene Alain, who didn't think much of the Bloc's fortunes a mere two years ago. "The collapse of our troops in the Quebec City region... left a huge void in the sovereign movement and suggests dark days for the Bloc elsewhere in Quebec if we don't redirect our men," she wrote in 2006. Duquet may have largely ignored the report he commissioned. Still, for the Bloc's sake, he can only hope it doesn't continue to prove to be as accurate as it has been so far. ■

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ON THE MUSTINGS, Elizabeth May can

Does last year which included not running  
candidates in one another's ridings

When it comes to "Mr. Harper" and his  
"campaign of fear and deception," May has  
much more to say than a coastal hurricane. Her first  
order of business this morning is to issue a  
press release based on an Access to Information  
Act search that reveals the Prime Minister ignored an economist's report commissioned by Natural Resources Canada that  
concluded a carbon tax would be revenue-  
neutral. "I thought Mr. Harper was supposed  
to be an economist," says May. "But he has  
skipped his own journals on propaganda."

Somewhat May lifts the topic to the Green  
message of "hope and stability and opportu-  
nity." Climate crisis "presents that generation  
with the single largest economic opportunity  
in the history of human enterprise," she  
tells the crowd, speaking of new technolo-  
gies. She lists the Canadian Greens to once  
successful Green parties worldwide, citing  
the fact that under the leadership of the Ger-  
man Greens, that country has created 400,000  
new jobs in the sustainable energy sector.  
Then, she easily loses up to a platoon  
that allows her to sound increasingly ap-  
palling and more drop the "single largest  
economic opportunity" line. Her assembly  
here, she says, rather, old family friend Bill  
Clinton once said it to her.

Such is the even contrivance, over pro-  
vocative one woman Green party crusade,  
a campaign that has a still under construction  
fact to it. Just what the Greens stand for other  
than "green" was made public with the release  
of a full policy platform Wednesday. Still to  
be released is the national 300-candidate  
challenge by May as a reason the Greens  
deserve a place in the debate for the only two  
ridings the party is not contesting are those  
of Dion and Independent Bill Casey, who  
May named as "barren Green" after he  
was expelled from the Conservative caucus  
last year for voting against the budget on  
principles. As of this week, only 286 candi-  
dates have been announced. A leaked email  
from director of organizing Sheron Lubchuk,  
dated Sept. 1, suggested that names were  
being solicited just to fill the ballot. "So that  
everyone in Canada has the opportunity to  
vote Green, we'll also take names of people  
willing to just put their names on the ballot  
in the event we do not find enough candi-  
dates," she wrote. May, speaking from her  
office in New Glasgow, says 300 names will  
be submitted by the Sept. 13 cut-off date. "I  
am as a success-by-endorsement restoring  
files of their background checks."

The official campaign is from McDonald's,  
one-time director of conservation for

## MAKE OR BREAK TIME FOR GREENS

A media magnet and  
suddenly a populist  
hero, can Elizabeth  
May win seats?

BY ANNE KINGSTON • A spinmaster Eliza-  
beth May settles and settles in the Green  
Canada far Social Innovation in downtown  
Toronto. The arrival of the Scottish-piper who  
takes her from a Friday morning pro-  
pels the arrival of the Green message to  
the Central Nova riding where  
May is waging her phony David vs.  
Goliath battle against Ontario  
Minister Peter Mackay. Only one  
week into the election and the  
Green Party of Canada leader has  
positioned herself as a headlin-  
ing populist hero who pro-  
posed against the "old boys' club" that tried  
to exclude her from the leaders' debate,  
a seeming coup for a party that won less than  
four per cent of the national vote in the 2008  
federal election and which has never had an  
MP elected under the Green party banner.

May stands before the phalanx of media  
wearing the same pale yellow sweater set  
she wore in Guelph when she looked at what  
she termed "the main antagonist" election  
by Canadian history "Climate crisis means  
that is turning out, she said, warning that  
"we stand at a moment of great peril but also

at a moment of great promise."

The same can be said of the Greens, a party  
that has operated at the fringes of Canadian  
politics since 1983. That is their make-or-  
break election. They have in May a media  
magnet; they've won a place in the debate;  
their mission to create greenhouse gas emis-  
sions is one Canadians claim to care about,  
at least when responding to polls. May has  
promised to bring a new, inclusive, non-par-  
tisan approach to the political arena—  
focusing on issues, improving the  
quality of debate, democratizing  
a democracy rarely seen in politics,  
down to the smallest detail. "Our  
operating instructions to our  
people across the country is when  
you go out to register Green signs,  
fix the other campaign signs while  
you're there," she says.

But May's opposition to "Mr. Harper's Con-  
servative Alliance-Republican Party of Can-  
ada" and all it represents can occasionally  
dread the civility. So much so has been in g-  
guard her presence will up the pro-Klein  
vote and, no small irony here, elect a Harper  
majority. Indeed, it was the speech of a Harper  
government dissolving decades of work on  
the environment that propelled May, a long-  
time activist and executive director of the Sierra  
Club of Canada, to run for the Green leader-  
ship in 2006. It also opened the personal  
non-aggression pact she made with long-time

CAMPAIGN  
2008

THE LEADERS

Parr: Tradies who worked in the telecom sector before being lured into agency to create director in November. This is his first national campaign in 1996, he organized the federal Liberal election bid for Mark McGeach, who placed fifth on the first ballot.

The budget is a whopping—\$4 million, says McDonald, though a big increase from the \$100,000 the party spent federally in 2006. "We have to be efficient in how we do things but for the first time certain tactics and strategies are possible for us," he says. These include national television ads, though air time during a recession. "Maybe after the debate," he says.

Steps of strategic planning aren't free, the party no longer gives all candidates the same level of assistance. "Strategic decisions are making priority of staffing time, campaign assistance, campaign where I stop on the trail," says May, who relies off line around coordinator, Elar Wilson, the former independent MP for West Vancouver-Sunshine Coast Sea to Sky Country who joined the Liberals. August, John Fryer, managing in Vancouver. And Mike Adams in Calgary. He McDonald adds Dick Hibbs in Fraser-Greenwood and so on. He rebuffs the gripes of some party insiders that Ontario has been starved of federal May's Central News had "It's one of our overrepresented areas," he says. "So it will get more than its fair share."

May's men in Central News, a Tory stronghold held by Peter MacKay since 1999 and last year, Rivers, before that, has been contentious since the announcement in early 2007. Former Green party strategist Don Barr had reached members to support the election in various media. Central News pulled him out negatively. May overruled the idea for personal reasons, saying then the fact his family lives nearby. But, taking on a Harper administration is a fight in which to look. It's a high-risk gamble in 2008. MacKay won 12,514 votes while the Greens collected 40,000 votes. (16). MacKay took only 41 per cent of the vote, however, with New Democrat Alton Macdonald winning 13 per cent and the Liberals 25 per cent. Not that May can count on former Liberal voters. Green spokesman John Bennett says many Liberals in the riding were annoyed by the May/Dion pact. NDP candidate Louise Lecoeur, a retired history teacher, has said some have shifted support to her.

May contends her presence in the debates creates synergy between her national and local campaign. "It gets our message out nationally and transforms our local voters here that they're not just electing an MP who would be run-of-the-mill but a leader of a federal political party. So that kind of synergy."

May's father-in-law, John Bennett, says many Liberals in the riding were annoyed by the May/Dion pact. NDP candidate Louise Lecoeur, a retired history teacher, has said some have shifted support to her.

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## WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT ELIZABETH MAY

**Early days** May was born on June 6, 1954 in Montreal, Que. In 1976 May met her future husband and she became May an actress, model and scriptwriter. The family moved to Nova Scotia in 1973.

**School days** May had to initially attend her undergraduate studies because of financial difficulties at a university her father attended in Nova Scotia. But she eventually went on to graduate from the Dalhousie School of Law.

**First job** The help to run the family restaurant and pit-stop on board in old riding actuator on Cape Breton Island a Cabot Trail.

**Getting married** May never married but she had a daughter Victoria Cole with climate change activist John Barton in 1999. Barton and May separated after living together for about two years, but they're still on good terms.

**Literature** May is a writer. She has written for John C. Givens, a two-time May is a part-time student of theology at St. Paul University in Ottawa.



MAY with her father in Nova Scotia

er things." Even supporters speak of her winning as requiring strategy. Still, "she has a lot of pulling off the improbable," says Joe McDonald. May's decision to spend more than half her time campaigning in Central News limits her movement nationally. Her cross-country campaign kicks off next Sunday when the boards a private car attached to a Via passenger train in Vancouver. The five-day journey, which will make 81 short stops and end in Thunder Bay, is being framed in the romantic terms of "the first white stop campaign since John Diefenbaker." May hopes the visuals will contrast with the gaudy habits of the other campaigns. Including the suits also reflects the party's commitment to reinventing in Canadian outdoors as they will revitalize the level of modernization of

Harper made trains in other countries.

Much credit on May's debate performance. "Elizabeth has been preparing herself for this debate—perhaps not knowingly—her own adult life," says McDonald. "This is the first informed leader, this is the most articulate, this is the quietest yet, she is the most natural and she has an encyclopedic knowledge of the issues. But, who has coached her in the past, behind the scenes if she can flow down her answers and doesn't answer every question back to the environment."

May's real test will be shedding her notoriety when she comes back to the Green elected. As recently as last week, she was still describing her party as "a movement that works change." She rejects the media's creation of an election in a horse race. "An election campaign is about democracy in action—to choose the right choice for our future," she says. And the right choice for May isn't necessarily a Green but anyone who can restore Harper. In September, she wrote a much-fewer email to Liberal candidate Brent Fellenz, who's running against Prime Minister John Harper in the Ontario riding of Whitley Ontario. "I cannot help myself! GOOD LUCK BRENT!" You and Doug (Anderson, the Green candidate) together can expose the massive overconfidence of Mr. Harper." Last week, La Presse declared May has made a deal to lose her support behind the Liberals in the last days of the election, a claim May dismissed as "verbal nonsense."

Yet May's choice for Harper is clear. That she said she'd prefer to Greens be elected if it meant the end of the government. "It's not a partisan calculation," she says. "It's the fact that what offends me the most is Mr. Harper continuing in the direction he's taking. We like logic on the matter we agree showed." "It's making it very clear we have to elect Green MPs and that Green MPs facing a Harper Liberal would be far worse than no Green MPs facing a minority Liberal and hence," she says. May means her association like a leader. "It may not be a very good politician, but I'm very grounded in the reality of where we are on the planet right now and I'm not prepared to pass up a chance to make statements that are morally bankrupt." She expresses irritation that this is an issue. "I don't understand how anyone who understands the climate crisis wouldn't feel that a Harper victory was more damaging than any other act of outcomes," she says. "I don't understand why Doug and Layton wouldn't also stand by this."

That Dion is left out of that equation is telling, though. It's too early to say why. What is clear is that Elizabeth May has the potential to be the election's spoiler. While party she'll damage most remains to be seen. ■



THE TONE OF the coverage is more positive for Dion, though Harper gets more ink.

## THE AFFAIR'S OVER

The media is souring on Harper already, but they love May

BY KATE LUNAN • Will it be the outcome or the tone? Conservative Leader Stephen Harper was first out of the gate when the election was called, clearing some media attention—and more positive coverage—than Liberal Leader Stéphane Dion. But according to the 2008 Federal Election Newspaper Analysis Project, Harper's coverage is already starting to go negative again. "Dion there were signs of a Harper majority, the coverage didn't look at the good and the bad," says Brian Sirotska, co-director of the Media Observatory at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, which is overseeing the newspaper analysis project.

Meanwhile, the second week of the campaign saw Dion's coverage get a boost. "In week one, Harper looked strong in the press, and that reflected poorly on Dion," Sirotska says. Last week, though, "the Conservatives made a couple of errors"—a defuncting anti-puffin strategy in print—and so "the focus on Dion's weakness lessened."

Sirotska's team conducted an automated analysis of election news in seven dailies: the Globe and Mail, Montreal Post, Ottawa Citizen, Toronto Star, Calgary Herald, Vancouver Sun and Montreal Gazette. They rank mentions as positive, negative or neutral, also inferring negative from positive to find a "net tone." Maclean's is pursuing the trend in every week end the Oct. 14 issue. In week one, Harper had a net tone of -0.2, firing better than Dion, but his score dropped

to -0.4 in the week from Sept. 7 to 13. Dion, meanwhile, led out Harper with a net positive tone of +0.49 on week one, bumping up his score from an overall -0.8. Taking both weeks into account, Harper had received slightly more revenue than his Liberal rival.

Reporters may have cooled on Harper—but he still has that attention. The Conservative leader continues to grab the most headlines by far. A good 40 per cent of the dailies' election articles peak in Harper's first mention in week two, while for Dion it was just 15 per cent. As with news that out of newspaper articles more than the Conservative party first, compared to less than a quarter for the Liberals.

Of the three similar parties, the Greens are the success story. Last week, Green Leader Elizabeth May earned about seven per cent of first mentions, beating out the NDP's Jody Layton and the Bloc's Gilles Duceppe. That's largely thanks to the factor over her last inclusion in the leaders' debate. Sirotska says May's popularity in the media is unabated—she continues to have the best net tone of any leader.

Harper is still setting the agenda, though. The economy, a major Tory talking point, is still the defining issue in week two, 43 per cent of election coverage touched on the economy or employment. But the environment isn't far behind: 35 per cent of articles concerned energy or the environment.

Still, if a potential Harper majority made reporters pull back from the Conservatives, could voters still follow suit? It's possible, Sirotska says. Media content generally leads polling data by several days, he notes, so "this could suggest we'll see a drop in Conservative vote share." ■

## NO TIME FOR A DEBATE

The Catholic clergy sees abortion falling off the campaign trail

BY MICHAEL B. DOLAN • Papal elections are spectacular affairs, much more so than Canadian federal contests. The cardinal election gathered in the Vatican City's St. Peter's Basilica, a hall of white marble, ornate arches, and a dome, we get Lloyd Robertson. And he's the mean old man. That, that is, last week, when Jean-Claude Cardinal Turcotte, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Montreal, wanted for an election to start before saying he'd return his Ontario Canada, a protest over Henry Morgenthau's appointment July 14. This, some asked, a move by the Church to intervene in the election, and raise abortion issues. "Through an aide, Turcotte said he'd make no further comment during the election, an indication he wouldn't push the issue. Colquhoun said the move was in keeping with his mission: "Newspapers as political propaganda: everything, not just the election, is used to influence the election," says Ottawa Archbishop Thomas Cardinal. "We've been making the importance of faith and we're going to have a referendum on whether there's an election campaign or not."

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# WHY CAN'T THIS MAN FLY?

**A judge releases the identity of Canada's first no-fly suspect**

**BY MICHAEL FRISCHKOPF AND MARTIN PATRICK** • A Montreal man fighting to have his name removed from the Canadian no-fly list has lost his first court challenge—and with it, his anonymity.

Until now, Hani Al-Talbi was just another face on campus, a Concordia University student pursuing a master's degree in the engineering and computer science department. The 36-year-old was not in the news for his low profile, but a judge ruled this week that the public has a right to know something about the list he has been deemed an "unusual and serious aviation security" risk, and is the only person ever denied boarding as a result of Canada's no-fly list.

As first reported in the previous issue of *Maclean's*, the federal government's 23-month-old "Passenger Privacy" program finally interpreted its suspect in early June, when a young Muslim man now identified as Al-Talbi showed up at Trudeau Airport holding a second entry ticket to heads Ararat Island of a boarding pass, however, he returned as "Emergency Evacuation" from Transport Canada (he declared him "immediate threat" to "the safety of the public, passengers or crew." Grand said ultimately, he is now boarding Ottawa in Federal Court, arguing that the entire no-fly list should be scrapped because it violates his Charter rights to free movement and a fair process. The Palestinian manager is also demanding to see the specific evidence that landed him on the list.

Earlier this month, when Maclean's first discovered the case file, a reporter contacted Al-Talbi for comment. His lawyer, Johannes Dagon, responded with an emergency request for a publication ban. If the media revealed his client's name, the argument, it would damage his "reputation and private life" and jeopardize the accuracy of his references now living in Riyadh. Both Maclean's and the federal government contested the request, and after a six-hour hearing on Monday, Justice Yves Gauthier refused to issue a ban.

Disappointed, Dagon said the decision will "unintentionally thrust Al-Talbi into the media spotlight." "We don't see the usefulness of broadcasting my client's name from the roadside," he said. "You are attacking a student who doesn't have any money."

Mark Benney, a Maclean's lawyer, said the

magazine is not attacking anyone, it is simply reporting on a matter of public record. If anything, Al-Talbi's threat hangs over the lawsuit when he decided to take the case to court rather than wait for the results of an internal compliance process. "The ruling underlines the importance of the fundamental principle of open courts," he said.

Unveiled in June 2012, the Passenger Privacy program has been widely criticized as an arbitrary tool that violates the presumption

of the American version has built itself to the brink of bankruptcy, every day, thousands of innocent passengers are harassed, questioned and delayed because their names resemble a suspected terrorist. In fact, the very same word Al-Talbi used to come to ground his identity, another Quebecer—Massimiliano Laib, a music producer based in Montreal—announced that he has legally changed his name because he kept popping up on a U.S. watch list.

Transport Canada will not discuss Al-Talbi's case while it's still before the court, but when it was launched, senior bureaucrats stressed that the intelligence used to justify such exclusions "reliable and sound" in other words, it's a process on the list, there is an urgent reason why. "We're looking at individuals and someone they have decided to take," Alan Kippen, the secretary of state of aviation security policy, told a parliamentary committee last year. "It's their behaviour that leads us to this conclusion."

Which is just the obvious question: what "behaviour" pointed the authorities to Hani Al-Talbi? And why in Ottawa so convinced that this self-proclaimed good student—a Canadian permanent resident since 2004—is an "imminent threat" to fellow passengers?

The exact answer may never be disclosed. Federal lawyers are planning to respond to Al-Talbi's court action, but it's possible they will withhold specific evidence on the grounds of national security. Meanwhile, Al-Talbi's lawyers insist that he is a victim, not a threat. "There never has been any real evidence," he wrote in a court affidavit. "I am not a danger to the public or to aviation."

He is no longer an anonymous student, either. But he has never disclosed that the visible publicity may just benefit Al-Talbi. "It depends on how he is treated by the media," Depina said, when asked if that claim will now grant interviews. "It might be an abusive treatment, it might be okay. We'll have to see, and he will react accordingly."

One thing is certain, though: "He won't talk to you," said "That's for sure."

With Dominique Jerry-Sheehy



**WHAT BEHAVIOUR POINTED AUTHORITIES TO HIM? THAT MAY NEVER BE DISCLOSED.**

of innocence. Essentially, a person can be declared too dangerous to fly, but not dangerous enough to be arrested. The RCMP and CSIS, Canada's spy agency, decide who belongs on the list, and the minister of transport approves those recommendations without any individual oversight. Ottawa won't even confirm how many people are on the database, even though it's widely believed to be somewhere between 500 and 2,000.

Critics of the Canadian no-fly list fear an repeat of the U.S. experience: last 9/11,



## ARCTIC STRATEGY: DON'T GO KILLING DANES

"We cannot win against the Americans. We cannot win against the Russians. And we are too confused to shoot the Danes." Liberal Leader Stéphane Dion, campaigning at the University of Victoria, describes the Conservative government's Arctic strategy as "a 19th-century approach that doesn't work in the 21st."

## Northerners show Toronto how it's done

**BY CATHY GUELL** • When Dave Wilson's wife had a heart attack last year, she had an X-ray done at her local hospital in Windsor, Ont., then a CT scan at a neighbouring Kitchener, and an MRI in a city an hour's drive away. Wilson had to transfer the images from place to place, a tedious and costly process that drew those connections with his suffering wife. Wilson wished they were in northern Ontario. "That would have made my life easier. She'll have medical services here," he says.

That's because despite the popular belief that big, urban areas offer the best medical care, many hospitals in southern Ontario are behind the curve when it comes to using high-tech equipment to share health information. Northern Ontario areas such as Timmins, Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie have been digitally sharing X-rays, CTs and MRIs for up to six years, using an advanced system that's only now being looked at by some southern hospitals. "As a matter of necessity, northern and rural areas have had to use technology to overcome doctor shortages," says Wilson, who is director of imaging informatics at Agha Khan Centre, which develops diagnostic imaging tools. "That technology is starting to permeate in larger southern regions."

Thirty-five hospitals around Toronto and Ottawa formed the Hospital Diagnostic Imaging Adoption Strategy Group (HDIAS) project in 2007. The first goal was to link up hospitals using digital technology rather than film to capture diagnostic images. Next, they'll put the images into a digital storage system so that doctors across the hospitals can access them. Within a year this should be done, says Tim Ryan, general manager of HDIAS.

The cost-conscious HDIAS up to \$3.5 million per hospital (the federal government has pledged \$2.6 billion to the cause) that the savings are huge. HDIAS has seen a 10 per cent increase in productivity where digital technology is used. Doctors "can take and process more images and see more patients," says Ryan. In northern Ontario, it's cut wait times for imaging, says Wilson. Women better deliver patients used to go south for care. ■



## Party leaders lose control of Facebook

**BY EDNA MOHAMMAD** • This election is the first after which every party leader has a Facebook page—but some are finding the medium is more of a curse than a blessing.

The idea is simple: use social networking to connect with like-minded young voters. But unlike web TV and radio, the parties can't easily control Facebook. Not only are voters posting a stream of unfavourable comments on the site, but some are even using it cohesively to organize against the parties.



**FACEBOOK worked great, until someone added a 'Readback' tag**

Nearly 17 million Canadians have a Facebook page, and it's almost harder to post not just policy announcements, but photos and personal information, such as their favourite movies. It can also allow visitors to post comments, which many did last week when Jack Layton was criticised by his own supporters over his opposition to allowing Elizabeth May into the selected debates. "Sorry Jack, you passed my vote. Nice work," was one such post.

Other posts are downright bizarre—such as comments on Layton's marriage, or a Conservative asking him to commit to a "national chorus message strategy" to promote deli meat. Meanwhile, on Harper's page, one user has managed to hide Prime Minister's photos with the tag "Readback."

But that's nothing compared to what the 5,776-member "Anti Harper Vote Stop Canada Club" Facebook group has been up to. It has held last week, at members have set up a sophisticated system to help users strategically prevent Conservative wins. It works by connecting non-voting private members with little chance of winning with others more willing to go to the party that has the best chance at winning the local Tory candidate. The enterprise has alarmed Toronto Canada to the point that they're investigating to see if it's legal. ■

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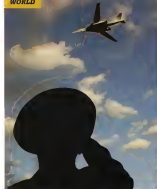
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# CHÁVEZ AND PUTIN: BFF

**In a strong signal to the U.S., Russian bombers land in Venezuela**

**BY MICHAEL FETTERO** • He would be tough to admit it, but Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez has learned something of publicity stunts from his nemesis, George W. Bush, a man he once blamed to the death.

On May 1, 2005, Bush arrived on the deck of the USS *Albatross* (tactical aircraft carrier) in an S-1 Viking jet to declare that major combat operations in the Iraq war had ended. Subsequent news revealed Bush's comments as premature, if not foolish, but he nonetheless relished the image that staggered across the runway in a combat flight suit, helmet under his arm, conveyed.

Hugo Chávez, nothing if not a showman, figures he can do the American President one better. Last week, Russia sent two Tupolev Tu-160 "Blackjack" strategic bombers on a training mission to Venezuela—the first time Russian bombers have flown in the Caribbean since the Cold War. The Blackjacks, the heaviest combat aircraft in the world, fly at Mach 2 and can be armed with nuclear cruise missiles or more than 30,000 lb of bombs.

Chávez could hardly contain his delight. "I'm going to take the controls of one of these machines," he gushed. Gen. Párriz Andueza, head of Russia's long-range air force, said Chávez would be welcomed on one of the planes. The idea is lively.

The loonies, with or without the flack-baiting Venezuelan president as the controls, pose no military threat to the United States or Canada. They were dispatched on their trip across the Atlantic by NATO and U.S. war planes as a reminder to Russia that in a real war the Blackjacks would be shot out of the sky. But their trip to Venezuela is symptomatic of a growing confrontation between the two and the West that is now at its hottest point in decades because of the recent war between Russia and Georgia. Russia resents what it sees as Washington's influence in countries that were once part of the Soviet bloc—places like Georgia, Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic states. In response to the United States is simple: if you interfere in our back yard, we'll do the same in yours.

The bombies are just the beginning. In November, a task force from Russia's Northern Fleet will deploy to the Caribbean for joint aerial exercises with Venezuela. The task force will be equipped with the nuclear power

cored battle cruiser *Peter the Great*, which, according to the private intelligence agency *Intelligence*, "would make a formidable threat to the navy" of the western Atlantic. From ever, with the bombies, the Russian naval task force is more about political posturing than firepower. "It's political and psychological action to irritate and poke Putin's finger close to the United States," says Andrei Piontsevsky, a Russian political writer and former executive director of the Strategic Studies Center in Moscow. "Your ships are in the Black Sea; we are sending ships to the Caribbean. You want mutual defiance in the Czech Republic, we're sending our planes to Venezuela."

For Chávez, having the Russian military is an opportunity to avenge his game of outmaneuvering the United States from the back leagues in the military. He has previously sought closer ties with Iran. Russia might not be as hostile to the United States, but it is much more powerful. Its military was coincided with Chávez exclaiming his rhetoric against the United States, expelling the American ambassador, and shouting to supporters at a rally that the "thickies" should "go to hell a hundred times."



**MOSCOW'S MESSAGE** to Washington is clear: If you interfere in our backyard, we will interfere in yours. But experts say the United States would be wise to ignore this latest provocation. "The best thing is to let things cool off as it just sock it up a little," says one.

According to Michael O'Hanlon, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution think tank, Washington should ignore these ostentatious Chávez is "an occasional peeper. He does best when he gets into these frenzy situations, these back and forth with the United States, and he manages to get under our skin and get us acting emotionally." O'Hanlon says "but he is usually sending up to the United States, during the episode, saying the 'We are unapologetic to ourselves ourselves'."

O'Hanlon shares the same advice applies to how Washington responds to the Russians. "This is a situation, unusual perhaps in the last 60 or 70 or 80 years in great power relations where the best thing is to let things cool off and just make sure a little, even if the first thing you do that you see doesn't like," he told *Albion*. "We're all very good about talking about avoiding appeasement and Chamberlain and the Second World War, but we also have to remember things like the First World War, where it was competitive, got it power clear thinking that was probably as great a cause of war as anything."

**Examined in isolation**, the Russian military's move in the Caribbean is largely inconsequential. Chávez is still happy to tell *Venezuela* of its America, despite his hyperbolic denunciations. And there's no chance that the battle cruiser *Peter the Great* will shell New Orleans (but the Russians are playing

big game with a larger timeline). Their primary set of concerns is what Russian politicians refer to as their near abroad—countries of the former Soviet empire, and above all else, Ukraine. This is where Russia most wants to assert its influence and where it faces the greatest American opposition. Sending forces to Venezuela is a first, the having a violent if an untested job to your country's blood that forces them to drop their gloves and leave his chin exposed. George Friedman, founder and CEO of Stratfor, prefers a wordier metaphor: "If somebody's

## THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL ALSO HOLD NAVAL EXERCISES

got you by the throat, you start sneezing somewhere else, hard," he said in an interview with *Albion*. "The Russians will have to find pressure points for the American Latin America is one of them."

At the moment, the United States faces few strategic threats in the Caribbean. The U.S. Navy's Fourth Fleet, based in Mayaguez, Fla., is primarily concerned with drug interdiction. Should Russia decide to make its military presence in the Caribbean permanent, America will have to respond by strengthening its own forces in the region. This will drive money and resources away from other theaters of operation, such as the Middle

East, making the United States less able to confront Russia where it counts: the Caucasus, eastern Europe, and the Baltic states.

According to Piontsevsky, as long as it is embroiled in Iraq and Afghanistan, the United States cannot effectively confront Russia in Russia. It was not able to project power in Russia. It could do little to stop a serious Russian incursion into Ukraine, which, unlike Georgia, is home to millions of ethnic Russians and several political parties that seek closer ties to Moscow. "It's not like the land forces," he says. Europe, dependent on

Russian much of its energy needs, is more likely to accommodate Russia's growing power than confront it. Sending bombies and a battle cruiser to Venezuela, even less powerfully, is Russia's way of reminding the United States that it is overextended, and that should America continue to act as an influence in Russia's backyard, Moscow can and will retaliate. "If you see this as part of an ongoing dialogue between an emerging Russia, a fractured Europe, and a distracted United States, then you really have to think about where this leads," Friedman says. "It's like watching a very long, complex chess game. Sending the Blackjacks was an interesting second move by a power of no significant at all, but you can begin to see their intention." ■



## Kicking a 'twitching corpse'

**BY MICHAEL PETROU** • British Prime Minister Gordon Brown's hold on power slipped further this week after a senior minister resigned and recommended that a debate over Brown's continued leadership, which the Prime Minister's Office has tried to suppress, be allowed to "run its course." Last week Office Minister David Cameron's resignation on Tuesday followed the weekend resignation of three junior MPs who asked that reform in the House be released for a leadership contest. Labour MPs have been quietly insisting for months, blaming Brown for their



**THE OPPOSITION** has Labour down the attacks on Gordon Brown

party's losses in by-elections and Labour's recent standstill in opinion polls. But until recently, most kept their dissent to themselves, calculating that even rebellions would only make things worse for their party.

But now the plotters are out of the shadows. Barry Gardiner, one of the now-wielded MPs, used a Sunday newspaper column to call for a leadership contest, and described Brown's proximity as one of "vacillation, loss of constitutional credibility and major organisational uncertainties that the public can no longer understand." Per his edition, Gardiner lost his position as Brown's "special adviser for diversity"—what's known legally that becoming meaningless if an MP does not guarantee their loyalty.

The Labour Party will gather in Manchester this weekend for its annual conference, and what may be Brown's last chance to cut vice the party to stick with his usual the next general election. Before next month, opposition politicians have judged it better to sit back and watch Labour's fissures rather than take part. Addressing a Liberal Democrat conference, Viscount Cahir, the party's shadow chancellor, cut short his comments about the Prime Minister: "There was a wish to kick a twitching corpse," he said. ■

## A Soviet-era figure comes to trial

**BY AGHAZ MOHAMMAD** • Twenty-seven years after arresting him of the sounds and unleashing tanks onto the streets to another oppositionist to Communist rule, Poland's last Communist leader is facing justice. Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, now 85, stands trial as a Warsaw court last week wearing his large, signature naval cap to face charges he and his co-defendants (all in their 80s) violated the constitution by imposing martial law in 1981. They are charged with "Communist crimes" and "disseminating a criminal program" in the form of a military council that silenced the opposition. The letter is a onerous legal move more fitting for mob stars, but believed to be the only way of trying the officials.

The trial marks a first for Poland: never before has the country taken its Communism as leaders to task for imposing martial law. It marked, the prosecutor general announced, the first time a former communist leader of the decade could appear in prison. Jaruzelski's image appeared on television screens early on the morning of Dec. 13, 1981, announcing that Poland's march toward freedom under the Solidarity trade union was over. As the self-appointed head of the Military Council for National Salvation, he declared martial law under intense pressure from the state border-



**ONCE a strongman, Jaruzelski will be tried like a mobster**

Police's borders were closed, followed by a curfew, strict censorship, the suspension of the right to strike or associate, and a ban on gasoline sales for private cars.

Mass arrests ensued, and as many as 100 people were killed. Jaruzelski has insisted his actions were necessary to prevent a Soviet invasion. But to Poles, martial law was a blatant reassertion of Communist power, which remained in effect until Soviet troops' Soviet-era regime crumbled in 1989. The trial was suspended until Sept. 15, when the defendants will enter a plea. ■

## Does Iran supply the Taliban?



**ONE EXPERT** insists it's illogical for a Shia regime to arm Sunnis

**BY RAGHEL WENDLANDER** • A mainstream report that the Iranian regime may be arming the Taliban as its fight against coalition forces in Afghanistan has renewed suspicion in the West of an uneasy alliance that, considering the implication of a partnership between the traditionally warring factions—and the lack of definitive evidence that the link exists—Canadian expert in Middle Eastern politics says Taliban is more likely "accepting" than an accomplice.

Speculation that Shia-controlled Iran has been leading a hand in Sunni extremists in Afghanistan is nothing new. Last year both the U.S. and Britain alleged Iranian state involvement in arming the Taliban—a main effort of UN Security Council resolutions. This week, a BBC report cited confirmation from an unidentified Taliban commander as further proof that powerful Iranian madrasas are being provided from the government in Tehran. Ali Dabbasi, an assistant professor at the Royal Military College of Canada, welcomed the likelihood of private Iranian arms dealers trading with the Taliban, but he says an alliance with the regime defies logic. Historically, "Sunnis and Shias have been inherently and politically very, very suspicious of the Iranian threat," says Dabbasi, and he points to Iran's long-standing enmity, as "carrying Iranian influence," he says, has long been a "sore driver" of the Taliban. And if the opposing camps were able to unite against a common enemy, a rapprochement, he says, would make Iran the "West's" next military target.

When it comes to arming the Taliban, Dabbasi says "the root of the problem" remains in Pakistan—currently a Western ally. As for the Taliban commander's story, Dabbasi notes critics may have been misled as "a Taliban threat"—a well-coordinated Shia attempt to thwart a religious enemy further into the spotlight. ■

## Choose Life Grow Young with HGH

From the landmark book *Grow Young* with HGH comes the most powerful, over-the-counter health supplement in the history of man. Human growth hormone was first discovered in 1920 and has long been thought by the medical community to be necessary only to stimulate the body to full adult size and therefore unnecessary past the age of 20. Recent studies, however, have contradicted this notion completely, discovering instead that the natural decline of Human Growth Hormone (HGH), from ages 21 to 61 (the average age at which death is only a trace left in the body) and it is the reason why the body ages and fails to regenerate itself to its 25-year-old biological age.

Like a picked flower cut from the source, we grow old by physically and mentally and become vulnerable to a host of degenerative diseases, that we simply weren't susceptible to in our early adult years.

Modern medical science now regards aging as a disease that is treatable and preventable, and this "disease," the disease of aging, is actually a complex of various diseases and pathologies, like a rise in blood pressure and pressure in the arteries, statin work and so on. All of these aging symptoms can be stopped and reversed by the use of HGH, by increasing Growth Hormone levels in the blood at the same level HGH existed in the blood

when we were 25 years old. There is a step-by-step at almost every cell in the human body for HGH so its ingestion and healing effects are very comprehensive.

Growth hormone first synthesized in 1985 under the Reagan Doping Act, to be used for athletes, was quickly recognized as being risky on its own and created it to be a safe alternative. Since then, only the lucky and the rich have had access to it at the cost of \$20,000 US per year.

Many in Hollywood's glamour sets, who were used to age like you or it, have a special secret to tell, and even space pioneer and US Senator John Glenn says visit with HGH.

The secret by breakthrough was to come in 1997 when a group of doctors and scientists, developed an all natural source product which would cause your own natural HGH to be released again and do all the remarkable things it did for you in your 20's. Now available in every bottle for about the price of a coffee and donut a day.

GHR is available now, just at home for the tiny daily dosages and everyone else from age 30 to 90 who don't want to age but would rather stay young, beautiful and healthy all of the time.



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- Reduced depressive symptoms
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This program will make a radical difference in your health, appearance and outlook. In fact we are so confident of the difference GHR can make in your life we offer a 100% refund on unopened containers.

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The new HGH releases are winning converts from the synthetic HGH users as well, since GHR is just as effective (at the age aging) is and control of self applicable and is very affordable.

GHR is a natural release; has no known side effects, and is the synthetic release and has no known drug interactions. It is a natural release. Progressive doctors admit that this is the disease medicine is going, to get the body to beat itself instead of imposing drugs. GHR is truly a revolutionary paradigm shift in medicine, and as many modern people who admit many others will be the same building their lives, or wellness and medicine.

It is now thought that HGH is so comprehensive as to be healing and regenerative power that it is today, when the complete history was twenty years ago, that a will duplicate so many prescriptions and own prescription drugs and health medicines that is a staggering to think of.

The president of BEE Health Products, stated in a recent interview: "I've been waiting for these products since the 70's." We know they would come if only we could stay healthy and live long enough to see them! If you want to stay on top of your game, physically and mentally at your age, this product is a boon, especially for the highly skilled professionals who have made large investments in their education and experience. Also with the state of the health care system in Canada which appears to be going into serious decline, it's more important than ever to take pre-emptive steps to safeguard your health. Continued use of GHR will make a radical difference in your health. GHR is particularly helpful to the elderly who, given a choice, would rather stay independent as their own home, strong healthy and deal enough to manage their own affairs, exercise and stay involved in their communities. Frankly, age 80s today two miles a day, plays golf, belongs to a dance club for seniors, has a pet, travels again and doesn't need libido enhancement drugs, prevents his drivers test and is healthy ever come when we call GHR deliver.

HGH is known to restore: Heart health, Arteries, Diabetes, Multiple Sclerosis, Osteoporosis, Fibromyalgia, Arthritis, Chronic Fatigue, Diabetes mellitus, Hypertension, Chronic Constipation, High Blood Pressure, Stroke, Asthma and Menopausal symptoms, helps Kidney Disease, and heart and stroke recovery.

# EDGE OF DISASTER

**One historic weekend claimed two titans of Wall Street. When will the panic of 2008 end?**  
BY STEVE MAICH

**T**wenty years from now, everyone in the financial world will remember where they were on the weekend of Sept. 11-14, 2008. They'll talk about how they got the news and how they felt when they heard that the venerable brokerage firms Lehman Bros. and Merrill Lynch were swallowed up by the credit crisis they helped unleash. And, depending on how the next few months play out, they will remember these as the darkest days in a financial panic that was finally contained by painful bargain sales by the rest of global finance. Or they will remember it as the worst stock moment when the forces of the U.S. financial system reformed, and exposed the inability of authorities to control it.

"There's still a lot of walking wounded on Wall Street that may or may not survive over the next month or two, depending on whether they can raise assets that they're worthy of financing," Jerry Wolfeld, senior economist at Citic World Markets, explained this week. Until recently, most observers had been relatively optimistic that the world economy would handle the credit crisis in time. Now, Wolfeld and others are playing an anxious game of wait and see. "I think that financial markets are anticipating future failures. The final chapters for many of these shaky companies are going to unfold over the next few weeks or months."

The shape of those final chapters remains very much up in the air. Lehman and Merrill are very headline-grabbing symptoms of a much broader and dispiritingly affecting every market around the world to varying degrees. What began as a crisis of confidence in the U.S. housing market has unfolded and spiraled around the globe, exposing how interconnected, and dangerously complex, international markets have become. From Wall Street to Main Street, and in every city around the world, the effects are



everywhere, and often everyone.

The problems began about six years ago, with the first signs that the slowing U.S. housing market was weakening. Modest increases in interest rates, coupled with a slowing of the economy, opened deeply indebted home owners into financial turmoil, sparking a rash of foreclosures and a rapid drop in house prices. The price of an average home in the U.S. has fallen more than 10 percent in the past year, and there are an estimated 3 million lost homes currently on the market, the most in at least 10 years. Foreclosures are now at a record level in the U.S.—with 2.75 per cent of all homes lost now in the default process.

This housing fiasco, the worst since the Great Depression, sowed the seeds of a broader economic turmoil. Most troubling loss began forced lenders to tighten credit conditions, both for corporations and individual auto, which only heightened the financial crisis. The shrinking U.S. economy has lost 660,000

jobs since the beginning of the year, and in August, the unemployment rate hit 5.1 percent—the highest level in five years.

While most experts had expected the world economy to remain insulated from the U.S. troubles, thanks to surging growth in Asia, it has become clear over the past few months that wasn't. Even China's sustained economic growth has run into problems of late. The Chinese stock market has fallen by 19 percent this year, and last week the Chinese central bank, which had been fighting to control inflation, reversed course and cut interest rates in an attempt to boost growth and ease fears of a slowing economy. But that has contributed to global problems of loose money, extended money oil prices, which peaked at \$147 a barrel in July, fell to \$90 a barrel this week—still pricey by historical standards but a warning drop in such a short time period. Gold, which was flirting with \$1,200 per ounce this summer, is trading below \$900. That has put the Canadian stock market on a tailspin—down 29 percent in three months, and 11 percent in just the past two weeks. With Canada's economy in Ontario and Quebec already suffering as a result of the U.S. slowdown, it now appears that the West's interconnected financial system could be perpetually in peril. Last week's economic aid to Taiwan proposed Canada's economy will grow by just 0.7 percent this year, and that Taiwan's economy will not grow at all.

Now, with anxiety rising around the world, U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson and Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke focused on the immediate problem—the

immediate collapse of one of the industry's oldest and most venerable lenders. Paulson summoned 16 of the top executives in the U.S. financial industry to an emergency meeting at the headquarters of the U.S. Federal Reserve in lower Manhattan on the weekend. As dozens of bank executives filed for hours outside, the bankers received a stark and sobering message: The U.S. Treasury would not pay a dime to save Lehman. Paulson had already tapped public money to take over the two largest mortgage guarantors, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (which recently yielded \$81,000 billion to the national debt), and provided a \$300 billion line to facilitate the acquisition of Bear Stearns by JP Morgan in May. In a modern-day re-enactment of J.P. Morgan's emergency rescue to take the market panic of 1903 by the reins, the Treasury is now finding their own solution. All weekend, executives urged Paulson to change his mind and look in part of the U.S. dollar or to needed to erase the bad debt on Lehman's balance sheet (but Bernanke adamantly—the public purse was closed).

This was not just the Fed playing hardball. Paulson and Bernanke were trying to re-establish the concept of "moral hazard." Moral hazard is essentially because if all major financial institutions believe that the U.S. government will, ultimately, bail them out (no matter how badly they screw up), they will take more and more ill-advised risks, at the cost to investors and the public. The government will be expected to pay up for a never-ending series of bailouts, and the line between private enterprise and public finance will be blurred forever.

After an all-night and all-day weekend, Lehman was abandoned to its fate. A 158-year-old lender that began in Alabama as a cotton and coffee merchant in the Civil War, the Great Depression, the 1930s stock market crash, the 1990 Russian debt crisis, the tech implosion and 9/11. It just could not survive its own continued bet on the U.S. mortgage market and all the risky exotic securities it spawned. Merrill CEO John Thain knew that his firm could face exactly the kind of squeeze that killed his erstwhile rival if housing prices and credit ratings continue to weaken. Already having picked up more than \$150 billion in credit losses so far, it was time to join forces with a more stable beneficiary, and Bank of America fit the bill. Merrill agreed to be acquired for \$50 billion in stock—a huge sum, but roughly 60 percent less than the firm was worth less than a year ago. This ended Merrill's 54-year run as a titan of finance.

If there were any good news to be found, it's that the immediate fallout in the wake of Lehman's demise and Merrill's capitulation

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could have been far worse. Monday's 190-point decline of the Dow Jones Industrial Average was a bad day—the worst, in fact, since the 9/11 terrorist attacks—but it was nowhere near the nightmare scenario that some had feared. Rather than sinking faster, however, it has created a sense of nervous anticipation, with investors and economists left wondering through all the various angles of the crisis, wondering when and where the next shot might drop.

**A**nyone who has ever found them selves in a tight financial spot knows about the Catch 22 of credit. Lenders like to loan money to borrowers who are already flush. The more deposits you have for the bank, the better it is to get a loan. When the financial system plays itself out on a massive, global scale, you have the potential for disaster, forcing first thing Monday, efforts began to avert it.

Central banks around the world, including the Bank of Canada, pumped billions of dollars into the system to alleviate immediate cash shortages. The U.S. Federal Reserve loaned collateralized paper assets, making it easier for lenders to remain solvent in the short term. Ten of the world's biggest banks, including Deutsche Bank, UBS, and Bank of America, created a US\$70 billion loan program as a lifeline for ailing banks.

But all these efforts still leave in doubt the fate of the heart of the market. "The Fed has made a lot of credit available, but no one wants to use it because there's still fear that whoever you lend it to is going to go bankrupt," Dan North, chief economist of credit issuer Baker Hennes & Schweser Mills, told Bloomberg. Tuesday afternoon, the Fed released more bad news: it would not cut interest rates, for fear that doing so would spark inflation. And so, although there is plenty of money around to borrow, the cost of borrowing it remains high—especially for those struggling firms that need it the most.

Each day, more casualties loom forward like victims in a horror movie. Washington Mutual, the biggest savings and loan in the U.S., had its credit ratings cut to junk-level status over fears it will need to raise more cash in order to cope with as much as US\$19 billion in debt linked to bad mortgages. All over the U.S., smaller regional banks are locked in their own life-and-death struggle to raise capital and remain solvent. But the biggest fear revolves around American International Group, one of the world's biggest insurance companies. Fitch IBCA's latest tie to the mortgage market, AIG paid their work in subprime rate to rise as much as US\$70 billion to shore up its finances. When it came

to empty Tuesday night, the U.S. government stepped in and provided a US\$180 billion loan to save AIG, in return for a major say in the company. So much for Paulson's commitment to moral hazard. It lasted roughly 48 hours. But the alternative may have been worse. "They are not buyers," said Eric Sprott, chief executive of Sprott Asset Management. "The body wants to buy someone else's mortgage, or someone else's loan or someone else's [investment]. Everyone is trying to do better at once. They've all got the same problem."

The nightmare scenario that Sprott and others describe is one of domino effect that continues to unfold as you go from one financial institution to another and around the world. Lehman went into real estate and disappeared almost US\$600 billion in assets—just leaving millions of complex investments and agreements, the value of which is extremely difficult to determine. If all these assets go pointing into the market at once, it could devastate their value, forcing other banks, insurance companies and hedge funds to write down the value of their investments, meaning bigger losses, falling stocks and even, all, more credit-rating downgrades. That means higher lending for more asset sales, and even tighter lending conditions. If it gets even more difficult for people to borrow, recovery becomes impossible, and another domino falls. Had AIG been allowed to fail, observers say the repercussions would be far, far greater than in the case of Lehman. "Right now, we're still caught up in this vicious cycle of falling house prices, tightening credit standards, weakening demand for houses and falling stock prices," says Michael S. Susskind, senior economist at BMO Capital Markets. "The funds back into weaker asset markets and a weaker economy."

They're all reminding each other on the way down machine they didn't see it coming. "We're certainly not at the bottom of this vicious cycle yet and we may not be until later this year, or early next year."

Already, many are laying the blame at the feet of government and the Federal Reserve, not just because they refused to bail out Lehman, then agreed to save AIG, but because officials seem to have misunderstood the spreading implications of a falling real estate market. "That just leads to my dequency response. That's why the thing just grinds out," says Brian Bortone, chief U.S. economist at Global Vantage. "Then the Federal Reserve, right after the go-go, has underestimated the scale and scope of this crisis. The real worst case is you have another couple of institutions



**'THIS IS AS BAD AS IT'S GOING TO GET. I'M BUYING, AND I'M NOT ALONE.'**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

fail and that triggers a domino effect in the financial system on a scale that's never been seen since the Great Depression. That's the worst-case scenario: panic and stampede."

There's another school of thought, however, and more and more observers are willing to predict that while the problems are far from over, we may now be on the long road to recovery. They say the disappearance of Lehman and Merrill, while regrettable, is good news because it allows struggling companies to get on with the business of rebuilding confidence and separating the truly toxic from the merely depressed. "You have to stand back, take a deep breath, and say look, the outlook isn't good, but the financials in the U.S. had the biggest correction since the Great Depression," says Murray A. Roth, director of investment research at Oaktree based in Vancouver. "Bad banks are being absorbed by good banks, or by governments, so the overall health of the financial system is actually getting better. A lot of these banks have businesses that are making good money. I think you'll see more of a coordinated effort by central banks to refuel the global economy, and I think, ultimately, they'll succeed."

Indeed, that coordinated effort is already under way. Paulson refused to bail out Lehman, but when AIG went into trouble he reversed course and went the other way. The hope is that with central banks and private lenders making tens of billions available to cover short-term cash shortages, confidence will gradually return, and any remaining failures will be relatively small and isolated. And Paulson's plans to save AIG demonstrate an extraordinary (some might say reckless) determination to avert off a market crash at almost any cost.

If those efforts pan out, then we will look back on this week as the beginning of a golden opportunity for investors, long-term investors to buy decent assets at fire-sale prices, among the stage for a rebirth. Tighter regulation of the industry will undoubtedly follow, with restrictions on the worst forms of speculation that dominated so many. The key to recovery, observers say, is real estate. Prices need to stabilize and defaults need to slow in order for lenders to get back on their feet and put this nightmare year behind them. There are many who are willing to bet that the subprime is near at hand. "My personal opinion is that this is as bad as it's going to get. I'm not going to predict the bottom is the day, but I don't think it will get much worse," Ted Kuchelshagen, president and CEO of Toronto's TD Bank Financial Planning, said last week. "I'm buying now and I'm not alone. When a crash has run its course, and main street starts to panic, you know you're near the bottom."

If Kuchelshagen is right, then Henry Paulson may well prove one of the shrewdest treasury secretaries in the modern era. He will have successfully defused the biggest financial panic in generations and prevented the outright collapse of the mortgage industry—there at the expense of moral hazard. If it gets the other way, if more failures loom, or more asset sales, more fire sales and a deepening crisis, then Paulson will have put U.S. taxpayers on the hook for hundreds of billions of dollars for nothing, and there's no telling where the risk-buffalo leads. Then we will look back on last weekend with deep regret, and Paulson will be the one who let the fox spread beyond anyone's control. Hunt or Hunt. The stakes could scarcely be higher. ■

With Colin Campbell,  
Duncan Hoad and Jason Kivry

EMPLOYEE  
OF THE  
WEEK

## SCANTY-PANTS DANCER REGRETS HIS PRANCE

Three days after being sworn in as police minister of New South Wales in Australia, Matt Brown resigned. A former dancer, Brown voluntarily demoted to Premier Robert Brown that he'd danced in very brief stints at a post-budget party and had shed the braids of his New Year's Eve. Said a disappointed Brown: "I subsequently put it to Brown late last night that there are too many reports of you in your underwear for me to ignore."

# Who will have the guts to take a risk?



STEVE NACASH

Right now, all across the United States, small and mid-sized banks (not to mention a few giants) are in a desperate fight for their lives. They're all being overwhelmed by the massive surge in creditworthy mortgage-backed securities over the past several years, and now they're choking on it. They are awash in credit, but there are precious few in a position to provide the billions of dollars in capital needed to shore up their crumbling balance sheets. The very short list of potential sources includes foreign sovereign wealth funds, private equity firms, and our very own master banks—RBC, TD and CIBC among them.

The big newly minted master of the entire financial machine in the U.S. is that it may provide the single greatest opportunity for growth that our banks have ever seen. May be not this week or next, but within the coming year, they will have a golden chance to finally become significant players in the world's biggest and most dynamic market for financial services. The only real question is whether they will grab it or let it pass. It sounds like a no-brainer, but it isn't. And to understand why, you need to know a bit about who calls the shots on Bay Street.

For more than two decades, RBC, Royal and TD have been slowly, carefully expanding on what U.S. presidents Kennedy and Johnson called the "single greatest opportunity for growth that our banks have ever seen." May be not this week or next, but within the coming year, they will have a golden chance to finally become significant players in the world's biggest and most dynamic market for financial services. The only real question is whether they will grab it or let it pass. It sounds like a no-brainer, but it isn't. And to understand why, you need to know a bit about who calls the shots on Bay Street.

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Now, everything has changed. The loans are close to par, and thanks to a cash management deficits and tightening credit conditions, U.S. bank models have changed. Canadian banks have slipped back too, but their troubles are a work in the past compared to their American cousins. The silver lining of our domestic market—thanks to surging

commodity prices and solid real estate—has created this opportunity. Canada's banks have plenty of capital, relatively high stock prices, comparatively stable earnings. When you're a banker, then it's a matter of the cash flow that looks like it.

There are bankers everywhere. Consider that when TD bought New Jersey-based Core City Bank last year, it paid 2½ times its book value. (Book value is essentially the present value of all assets minus the present value of all liabilities, and given you're in



**Gordon Nixon is sticking to RBC's cautious strategy**

how much money would be left after paying off debts, if you wrapped up a business immediately.) That was considered a reasonable price, but now days of U.S. regional banks are ending for less than their book value—some even less than the value of the cash they have on hand. BankAtlantic, for example, had a book value of US\$202 per share as of June 30, and was trading last week for US\$1.80. Philadelphia-based Sovereign Bancorp, which has been desperately trying to simplify its business, had a book value of June 30 of US\$141.41 a share. Its shares were selling last week for just US\$2.76.

Still, caution rules the day. The prominent Wall Street brokerage Lehman Bros. declared bankruptcy this week, and is now liquidating hundreds of billions in assets. RBC is particularly locked in the two critical dimensions, but backed away. RBC chief executive Gordon Nixon perfectly summarized the philosophy of all Canadian banks recently when he said, "we are not in a rush and we are not surprised in making a deal that links to satisfy our strategic, financial and cultural criteria." That's prudent and reasonable, of course. But the value isn't coming in an instant—a baby move at that, especially when banks are having to write off huge loan portfolios on a monthly basis. Keeping Lehman in the middle of the storm may well have been a huge mistake. But if Canadian banks are ever going to truly become global champions in the world's highest-paying banking department, to "beat the colts" we'll just have to get it done.

There are many who say that Canada's bank CEOs are simply like the movie and the streets to really connect with each other. It's not really the CEOs who are the problem so much as the people who pull their strings—the central bank managers and pension funds who hold the bank's shares. They're back to back. As one well-connected Bay Street insider told us this week, "they all say they're long-term thinkers, but they're not. They all have money on the line. They're all here to make money for themselves and their money funds of dividends. The last thing they want is RBC or TD or BMO taking a big risk that might drive down the stock and hurt their most set of quarterly results."

There are the reasons why the success of our corporate leaders, in other words, demanding conservatism, wanting to ensure that consistently profitable Canadian banks are going to grow enough. This kind of financial institution is a tradition in the long run. Canada needs powerful global corporations to sustain our prosperity. But the most critical thing is to make sure that they are not. But third managers are judged and paid based on their performance today, not on the health of the economy 30 years from now.

That's the dilemma as we approach this crossroads. We have a chance to not only help put the U.S. credit crisis in the past, but to reach our biggest market into the major league. It's a risk worth taking. But the only way we will be if the keepers of our capital trust thinking a lot about the country, and a lot less about next quarter. ■

Steve Nacash is a columnist for [www.enr.com](http://www.enr.com).

# Google sets the price of oil now too?

**BY PETER BROWN TAYLOR** • If you happen to be an oil speculator on your way to Washington, you'd better get in line. Most U.S. speculators are crowded out by the biggest names behind the price of oil. And while the rush to blame you involves this in the way of proof of rage, your success has raised some serious concerns. Like Google.

Geopolitical concerns that speculators were responsible for rising oil prices earlier this year led the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) to investigate.



**KEN DORGAN** has a senior explanation for the price of oil

It reported in July that changes in oil prices are driven by supply and demand, not by speculation. "There is no statistically significant evidence that market speculators affect prices," it found. The report noted that speculators tend to follow price changes

rather than create them. It also pointed out that the prices of several commodities such as wheat, corn and soybeans, as well as oil, are driven by supply and demand, not by speculation. "There is no statistically significant evidence that market speculators affect prices," it found. The report noted that speculators tend to follow price changes

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# Another sign that housing is in trouble

**BY PETER BROWN TAYLOR** • The Census Bureau's Housing Affordability Index is down again, suggesting that housing is in trouble.

The group once had a solid lead with the GSI. Which the two was introduced by the Mulroney government in 1991, new home buyers were offered a rebate in compensation for the fact that resale houses are exempt from the tax. For buyers worth up to \$250,000, the GSI is reduced by a third. This rebate was gradually reduced to zero as the price approached \$400,000. Acknowledging the potential impact of inflation, the government of the day promised to "review these thresholds at least every two years and adjust them as necessary." It never happened.

Over time, the significance of the rebate eroded. As John Hryniuk, president of the Home Builders' Association, points out, while the \$250,000 limit covered more than 90 percent of all new homes sold in 1991, today it covers less than half. In Calgary only nine per cent of all new homes qualify for the full rebate. In Abbotsford, B.C., not a single new home sold in 2001 has been eligible. "We've



**HAIRIER HAS LOWERED THE COST, so what's the problem?**

2001 levels. The CIBC even put out a press release last October acknowledging it.

The return of the rebate now, less than a year later, seems unlikely to do much to the election and a weakening housing market than legislative action. Since family residential building permits are falling nationwide and new home price increases have slowed dramatically. A study from the University of British Columbia predicts a 30 per cent price drop in housing markets such as Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa and Winnipeg.

However, however, say it's all about the house buyer. "We're trying to make sure our buyers get a fair deal," he argues. "If we don't speak out, who will?" ■

# What's new at Apple? Not enough.



**NOW WE EXPECT a new gadget every year. Can Jobs keep up?**

**BY ORLIN CAMPBELL** • "A thousand songs in your pocket," advertised Apple, when it introduced the iPod back in 2001. Today, that claim seems almost quaint. Last week Apple released its latest iPod nano, including a new Nano with more than three times the capacity of the original, a fraction of the weight, plus color screens and color video screen—all for a price starting at US\$166, compared to US\$240 for the first iPod.

Sounds like an impressive advance, but in the bloody world of investor expectations, Apple's latest offering was a flop. Apple shares fell almost four per cent on the day of the announcement. Never mind the news that iPod nano has a 71 percent market share—analysis says it has more than 100 million units sold in 2004 and 2005.

That isn't high praise, yet the stock price has fallen 10 percent since the IPO. The market cut in the GSI is the per cent reduced the net asset per burden on new homes back in

2001 levels. The CIBC even put out a press release last October acknowledging it. The return of the rebate now, less than a year later, seems unlikely to do much to the election and a weakening housing market than legislative action. Since family residential building permits are falling nationwide and new home price increases have slowed dramatically. A study from the University of British Columbia predicts a 30 per cent price drop in housing markets such as Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa and Winnipeg.

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# HELPING THE WORLD. AID ME.

## Is volunteering about saving the world or enhancing a resumé?

**WYACHEL MUNDIMBO** • San Mateo went to Tanzania expecting to make a contribution. A journalist with several years' experience, she went down to the government's invitation to help with the 2004 presidential election, an opportunity to raise the profile of human rights issues. Journalism for Human Rights, the Toronto-based NGO offering the eight-month program, sent her to the volcanic island to catch reports that he had not effectively repaid on his debt to the foreign bank. "I was in the thick of it, armed with a camera and a microphone," she says in 2006. She was struck by "a sense of loss" it was for her to be in the presence of a author. The week-long four-department training JRR had provided touched on culture, history, human rights theory and the West African mainland, but left her with "very little clear about where I was going," she says. As it turned out, many of her colleagues at the Media Institute of Southern Africa had university degrees, and all of them knew more about the human rights abuses in Tanzania than she did, the *Guardian*. "It felt extremely silly and embarrassing," she writes.

writing a report for JHR, she says she spent the rest of her time "hiking around and hanging out" at a Canadian taxpayer's home.

Caribbean have a long tradition of building youth in developing countries to lead schools, town or orphanages and fight AIDS. Since 1986, an estimated 6,000 have gone overseas through the country's major value chain (serving organizations), and countless others have participated in church and community projects or internships sponsored by government and universities. But evidence is emerging that raises serious concerns about whether opportunities have come to most in equal measure by issues that decades of international aid have been unable to resolve, it is often difficult for established value chains to adjust to a rapidly changing world. And experts are warning that the arrival of fast-moving core cultural misunderstandings, the experiences may, as one instance, have the opposite effect—reinvigorating negative stereotypes in young Caribbeans, and breed racism in the countries across their home.

Spending a summer abroad has never been easier for socially engaged youth, provided they (or their parents) can pay. Even if they don't qualify for extended placement.



an Internet search for "volunteer abroad" reveals thousands of opportunities, which range from a few weeks to many months, and can easily cost more than a year's university tuition. "Ironically, these types of opportunities are machines to scramble to reach people that to poor people," says Josh Koon, an assistant public health professor at Columbia University who runs their development projects in Rwanda. His interns, who must give their own way, spend about \$6,000 for a four- to seven-month placement. The program is designed to "make a difference" (as is least likely if you are just led to a plethora of private agencies selling volunteer opportunities in for-profit locations. *Adrian*

But what happens if a more idiosyncratic, two-way connection is needed? For example, a long-term "coaching and rewarding" program for US\$2,500, participants can spend a month coaching football in Zambia, working with HIV/AIDS orphans in Kenya, or teaching disadvantaged children in South Africa.

phidanthropy and more to do with "personal gain," according to Rebecca Tinsley, a Dulles-based University professor examining the trend. Tinsley is one of two researchers who

During the study, "Creating Global Citizens: The Impact of Learning Volunteer Programs Abroad" (Sloan to wrap up in 2014, it is a 10-week attempt to evaluate the implications of such programs through interviews with participants and host organizations in Malawi, South Africa, Peru, Guatemala, India and Jamaica. Though preliminary, the findings suggest these opportunities have become a "product" that can be purchased and cashed in for course credit or a line on a résumé. "There are fewer people saying, 'I'm volunteering because it's the right thing to do, it makes me feel good and I'm dedicated to social justice,'" says Tesien. "There's more about the commercial angle in the process."

Before Kate Daley started her master's degree last year, she shelled out \$1,500 (not including airfare) to spend eight weeks in northern Ghana, helping out in an HIV/AIDS clinic and teaching at a school through Vele Water Abroad. Other than some small breakthroughs she made with the kids, the 25-year-old describes the opportunity as "more of an education for me." It wasn't Daley's first time in a developing country. Similarly, the majority of the young people Tisseron interviewed had had more than one

international volunteer experience. But even so, "The emphasis was still on how they could learn, how it would be useful

for them," says Tiessen. In the 14-year department interviews she conducted with young Canadians about their motivations, "career" or "skills development" was mentioned 40 times—the most frequently cited response.

According to Tiwano, helping out is an obligation in Zamboshe or in a rural village in Bolivia reflects a desire to share affection for experience. "I've always said 'experience' is a motivating factor 24 times, and more than half are motivated 'love'! The place carries more cultural capital than Africa, which holds to each tradition, national kind [and] extreme poverty," that, for the vast part, "people don't need money to come," says Tiwano. Indeed, many young people go to Africa to find a hard day anywhere else. But no matter how good their intentions, even before they step off the plane this under lying quest for otherness "becomes a kind of mission, giving up their lives to be a guard," Tiwano says, "I think that's a big people would be happy to see."



**DESTINATION GRABER:** Volunteers interview young married women; the weekly *Labadie Beach* party; a football match

if the intervention is to make a contribution, it's "critically important" does it's part of a larger effort rather than a "drive-by, drop-in, vague free expression."

But Peterson, the co-founder and executive director of Journalism for Human Rights (JHR), says prospective candidates are asked to explain their motivation, and "I'll say that because I want to travel, they're off [the list]. I went to Africa, say 'Persepolis,' which brings out the worst or the best" in people, he looks for journalists who are passionate about human rights and social education in a "cross-cultural" context. "One of our first people [JHR has sent] in Africa since 2004, he says only a handful 'I never's delivered on their work.' Peterson would not comment on the particulars of Manogah's experience, but he did say her placement was funded through JHR and as such, was intended to be more "experiential" — that the story is stressed during pre-departure training. Unlike some of JHR's other placements, where a rapid turn-around in months allows with which the organization has already established a working knowledge, here JHR purports to use a more traditional journalistic approach. JHR does establish a presence in a particular country, and attempting to achieve significant development results is not realistic.

When Helweg returned from Tanzania, she wrote a scathing rebuke of the program in *The Magazine*, in which she blamed JHR for creating an unethical, uncomfortable power dynamic and providing inadequate resources. But Greg Conagony, who went to Sierra Leone with JHR under the TSP scheme, says feeling threatened is "just part of the process." He put his technical skills to work, and was eventually able to build

**'THERE'S A PARTY SCENE. IT'S STRANGE. LOOKING BACK, I FELT TERRIBLE.'**

The motivation of young people who go abroad, and what they do when they get there, is something Canadian employers should be aware of. In the past decade, the Canadian International Development Agency—which dispatches overseas requests from Canadians desiring to volunteer for its work—has funded more than 4,500 internships abroad, at a cost of between \$30,000 and \$15,000 per placement, through the International Youth Internship Program (IYIP). (The program is now part of the federal government's new Canada Student Awards on the shipping bond.) IYIPA also provides other funding opportunities, among them the World University Service of Canada. There, executive director Paul Desjardins says, "We have a concerted effort to 'weed out' those who are simply in it for a sense of adventure and a good time." When selecting applicants to send to its projects, the 46-year-old organization "looks for people who have a strong academic and academic records of self-direction with respect to their studies. And, as an organization,





# 'THEY WEREN'T BLINDED BY THE CUTNESS, BECAUSE CHILDREN—NOT THAT DEEP DOWN—ARE EVIL'—'TRAILER PARK' ACTRESS LUCY DECOUERE, ON HER EDUCATION PROFESSORS IN AUSTRALIA

## LUCY DECOUERE 'TRAILER PARK' GIRL KICKED OUT OF CLASS

One of the stars of the comedy series *Trailer Park Boys* has had one of the quakiest teaching careers ever. Three days after Lucy DeCouere joined Nova Scotia's private Bedford Acad. center, where she was to teach English, she was told not to come back, she was told not to come back. DeCouere, who plays Betty's girlfriend on the comedy series, has degree in education from Griffith University in Australia. Her professors down under had been an exercise in clarity, she said. "They weren't blinded by the cuteness, because children—not that deep down—are evil." Perhaps misperceptions of her trailer-park character soon had bad-faith officials were uncomfortable with DeCouere described a recent trip to Australia, where she'd refrained from uncaring marijuana and engaging prostitutes, as an August interview with a Halifax newspaper says DeCouere's ex-husband, Sami Wongawatha, "She has an odd sense of humor and the students people are intelligent enough to know when she's joking and when she's not."

## LUKE RUSSETT A CHIEF OF THE OLD NEWSMAN

He may be NBC's new mainline anchor, but 33-year-old Luke Russett still has the odorous of a cub reporter in his age. "If I look twenty on TV, I apologize, it was hard," he wrote in his book *Inside the News*, after his recent interview with *Harvard Online* and *John McCain* for the *Today* show. "The son of Alvin T. Ross had this idea, whose father died from a heart attack in June 1964, a gaping hole in NBC's lineup of political analysts. Russett has several channels now included a sports talk show on XM Satellite Radio with political consultant James Caviezel. He admits there's little doubt his job reporting youth news, but he's also familiar to colleagues and politicians after years of joining his dad in assignments. "You're 30 years old, it was called Ross Press," he said. NBC News president Steve Caples, who called Luke "one of the most interesting of the year," adds, "He's a guy who is going to get his calls answered."

## MELT STEGALL THE GRAND OLD MAN OF THE BLUE HONEYCUP

It wasn't just that the winning Winnipeg Blue Bombers beat the Toronto Argonauts in a jump 39-0 on the weekend (winning vintage uniforms as part of the CFL's 50th Week), it was also a record-breaking game for the Bombers' grand old man, 58-year-old Melt Stegall. Already the CFL's leading career touchdowns—146—and TD catches—143—he added a new record. Stegall came into the game just 10 yards behind Allen Pitt's league record of 34,591 career receiving yards. Tying the mark with a 16-yard touch down catch in the second quarter, he then shattered it with a massive 50-yard score. The pillar Stegall, who's played for 14 seasons, described the victory as a team victory rather than another stop for himself. But on the locker room afterwards, his team gave him a shout-out, jokingly describing the contents as an electronic device that they could keep in their back at all times. But with the 50-0 approaching, how much longer can they keep the mighty Stegall?

## DENBY A LADY LIKES TO HAVE HER SWEETS

After a series of strokes that left her, she's been on the world's oldest police force. But Denby has been feeling better lately after colleagues in Winnipeg's Manitoba Park Zoo started feeding her chocolate and cupcakes. At 44, Denby has lived more than twice as long as other polar bears, and passed on her surviving cub with her bear, Skipper, who died in 1999. She came to the zoo in 1967 as an orphan from Russia. Since then her keepers came to know her taste in cream, such as veggie dogs and smoked goldilocks. Lady Denby developed a taste for chocolate. "It's not the best food for bears, but it's something she really likes, and it'll give her some weight for the winter," says Denby's keeper, Bob Vetter. And who has the nerve to deny an old lady her sweets?

## JOHN LE GARRÉ THE SPY WHO NEARLY WENT INTO THE COLD

Before assuming the post memo John Le Garre, David Cameron was arrogant for British central intelligence service, MI6. But his career came to a close when his identity was compromised by MI6 agent Soviet double agent Kite. Kite, who was in the CIA's *The Game* as from the Cold War, was informally charged with Le Garre. Le Garre had only just admitted that he was once tempted to defect. While a spy, he thought of coming over to the Soviet Union, not for ideological reasons, but out of simple curiosity. "When you spy on somebody and you get closer and closer to the border it seems like a small step compared to the rest," he says. That curiosity was hardly unique to Western agents, of course. Le Garre's books were immensely popular in the Soviet Union, and he was a frequent guest at the Kremlin. The Kremlin's propaganda campaign about Le Garre's new book, just coincidentally, is the next month.

## SPIKE LEE 'I WANTED CUTTER TO GET IT'

After his many years with Clint Eastwood, director Spike Lee is making more. In *Crash* last May, Lee was highly critical of Eastwood for depicting the black American soldier in *Letters from Iwo Jima* as a figure of the past. Lee says that when Eastwood told him to "shoot his face," the first became personal. "I said, 'You're not my father and I'm not on a plantation.' I never meant to be there, I was special to Clint Eastwood." With *Crash*, based on the true story of an African American soldier fighting Nazis, Lee hopes to restore the balance of Hollywood myth. "I'm not into of those who grew up watching westerns think the only good Indian is dead Indian."

## CHELSEY GOTTIL QUEEN OF THE POOL: A MODEST MONARCH

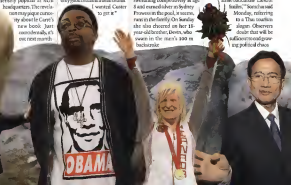
After Canadian *Project Runway* winner Chelsey Gottil set a world record as the 200-m individual medley swimmer in Beijing last week, she modestly credited her teammates, Kirby Cole and Valerie Grand-Maison, who swam away with silver and bronze. "If it weren't for the other two girls, I wouldn't be here with this gold medal," she said. But after clinching another top spot in the 100-m backstroke—and smashing another record—on Sunday, the 22-year-old visually impaired athlete from Antigonish, N.S., appeared more willing to accept well-deserved praise. "This is the event that I came here for," she said. "All the hard work I put into a pool off it." It was the 11th career medal for Gottil, who started swimming competitively at age 8 and earned her 10th Paralympic medal in the pool, a silver medal in the 400-m freestyle on Sunday. She also cheered on her 15-year-old brother, Devin, who swam in the men's 100-m backstroke.

## SOMCHAI WONGAWATHA ARE SMILE KNIGHT

Chosen as the prime ministerial candidate by Thailand's ruling PDP party to end the long-drawn political crisis, Somchai Wongawatha emerged Monday from obscurity. He is a soft-spoken former judge and was at least initially welcomed by the opposition parties, which had opposed



paralyzing democracy to fight against his predecessor, Somchai Wongawatha, denied an image of former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra. (Thaksin recently fled the country before his trial for corruption was to begin.) Somchai had, not really, fallen because he'd taken money to appear on a TV cooking show. Somchai's arrival comes at a time when the under-100-year-old, who accounts for 10 percent of GDP. "Let's put the same back under the table," he said. "Mongkol, referring to a Thai coalition slogan. Observers doubt that will be sufficient to end long political chaos."



NEWSMAKERS: LUCY DECOUERE: MARK HARRISON/GETTY IMAGES; LUKE RUSSETT: JEFFREY M. HARRISON/GETTY IMAGES; MELT STEGALL: JEFFREY M. HARRISON/GETTY IMAGES; DENBY: JEFFREY M. HARRISON/GETTY IMAGES; SPIKE LEE: JEFFREY M. HARRISON/GETTY IMAGES; CHELSEY GOTTIL: JEFFREY M. HARRISON/GETTY IMAGES; SOMCHAI WONGAWATHA: JEFFREY M. HARRISON/GETTY IMAGES

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There's a telling scene in the recent documentary *Sketches of Gehry*, where the renowned Canadian architect, typically sampled, alludes to the nob

of his messy fingers and Scotch-soaping process of silver cardboard as random. "Random, out, tape. He giggles. It's just like kindergarten—even in mood, which seems randomly from fun to frustration. "It needs to be casual," says Gehry, suddenly entered by a black wall. His partner folds a piece of cardboard into a paper fan, which is with a pair of tweezers, and places it against the once blank wall. "This is an original looking," says Gehry. "It's great."

Enter the guy's genius, as he has as all looked. A decade ago, with the opening of the Guggenheim in Bilbao, the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao in Spain, Gehry's bold behavior in a whole new cultural era where architects took their place beside celebrities. Dean of the A-list, Gehry's own made inside into pop culture. And this is known to drop by his Marina del Rey studio, and Gehry once vowed himself in a self-portrait on *The Simpsons*, where Marge invites him to Springfield to design a concert hall to house the image of the deceased cartoon city. What a diffie once a few years back.

On Aug. 21, the New York Times reported that the architect had been removed from the Theater for a New Audience in Brooklyn. Gehry's the same concern came as a surprise, according to the Times, he learned that he was off the project from the sponsor who called him a phone looking for a quote. Since Cohen, PR manager for the theater, disputes this. He says Gehry had been too busy to proceed, and had been aware of the change "for months." "He's a very nice guy," said Cohen. "He was driving. My guess is he didn't understand the question."

Whatever the case, tensions are also weighing in Boston, site of another high-profile. In November, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology filed a negligence suit against Gehry (and a contractor, Skanska USA Building Inc.). Gehry designed the university's State Center's US\$160 million corner of Bauhaus-yellow, white and orange

# FRANK GEHRY'S REALLY BAD YEAR

**For years the architect has been lauded for ushering in a new cultural era. But the climate appears to be shifting.**

**BY NANCY MACDONALD**

color and ocean that house MIT's computer science and artificial intelligence labs, and offices space. Celebrated as one of the bold architectural projects of its era, Gehry said its sloping floors and disorienting angles looked as if "a party of drunken robots got together to celebrate." The party's now moved to the coastline.

Gehry says that construction problems are inevitable in the design of complex buildings. For its part, MIT alleges that, within months of its 2004 completion, the State Center essentially started to come apart before unspecified damages, the university charges that "design and construction failures" caused leaks to spring, masonry to crack, masonry to grow, and design to look up. John Salter, former president of nearby Boston University, pronounced the building a "disaster." Gehry considers himself "an artist, an architect," he told the *Boston Globe*. "The trouble is, you don't live in a sculpture, and you have to live in this building."

In a few weeks, with the opening of the renovated Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto will get its cultural Renaissance: a blue institution crown by Gehry. The \$275-million project—the architect's first major commission in Canada—will be a homecoming of sorts. Gehry has long been associated with L.A., where he's lived and worked for over 40 years. But he was born in Toronto, and spent just a few childhood in a row house near the AGO.

Now, the city was a bit slow to the punch. Toronto's not getting Gehry's new Bilbao folklike, before to criticism, celebrated the world over. We've caught Gehry in the mid of a bad row. He's not the first architect to have struggled. Norman Foster's Millennium Bridge in London was closed for two years to construct a new "two mile." And even if Frank Lloyd Wright's buildings were never truly fully. In the AGO, which housed a building's new look, coincided to oversee the renovation, it's taking any chances, after all, it's not the first time the architect had faced complaints. Three years ago, Gehry was forced to send out parts of the US\$214-

**GEHRY WORLD** (From left) State Center, Cambridge, Mass.; Experience Music Project, Seattle; Walt Disney Hall, Los Angeles



million Walt Disney Concert Hall in L.A. He'd wrapped the concert hall—which sits under the blazing sun in California—in 22 million lb. of high-polished steel. This created an unbearable glare for passing motorists, and awkward hotspots that one place reached 66°C, according to an L.A. Canyon report. An investigation was sparked by neighborhood residents on who complained their condos were made uncomfortably warm by reflected sun. Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland has had to install large, rectangular windows to ensure students don't walk beneath the roof of its Gehry-designed building. In winter, snow and ice cascade down to slapping students steel roof, bombarding the sidewalk below.

In Seattle, meanwhile, insulating Gehry's Experience Music Project has become a "crucy topic," says local writer Finis Ruess. Politicians were sure the "Technical music museum, founded by Microsoft co-founder Paul Allen, would put Seattle on the pre-verbal map." Plagued by continued declining attendance—roughly half the projected 100,000 annual visitors—the city canceled leased roof seats and elephants. Less than two years after its opening, *Seven* magazine named it one of the world's "10 ugliest buildings."

For now, Toronto is one up on the new AGO—which opens Nov. 14 to–Ego. In fact, you may not need anything extra! At last, December the Globe and Mail pronounced Gehry's AGO a "staggering success" half year before even opened. Never mind that a single painting hung from the gallery's north wall, no one said it had been hung in, and the signature blue titanium sun shade's new owner is on the corner. There were muddy puddles on the museum floor, yet "Gehry's AGO already believe it. It's so beautiful!"

Less than a decade after he first started doing avant-garde architecture, Gehry was a global critic and winner of the Pritzker Architecture Prize—the Nobel of architecture—last year. "Gehry," she writes out. Sure, the designs were rebellious and outside the box but they were also highly sensible.

Gehry has already managed his own home: New House Studio, Silverdale, Germany. Supperclub Museum 0100, Spain.

"There's a 'culture of affirmation that surrounds Gehry,'" says the well-known architect and Princeton professor Mark Foster. "The same buildings that look, bend and moulder will not any other architect's job and reputation," says one Manhattan-based critic, who asked to remain anonymous. "For major newspapers, art critics and museum" continue to "hold Gehry up," he says.

"Gehry has had some supporters who have been very well-placed," explains Francis Morrone, an architecture critic and columnist for the *New York Times*. "For a number of

## SEEKING DAMAGES, MIT alleges 'design and construction failures' caused leaks to spring, masonry to crack

years, the *New York Times* had an architecture critic who was not only Gehry's friend, but would frequently say things to the effect of "Gehry is not only the greatest living architect, he's the greatest living artist!" Morrone is fingering the late Herbert Muschamp, often conflated with naming Gehry into a household name. "It was a very controversial thing, once it was in, it was happening," says Morrone. "In New York—and in America in general—if the *New York Times* says something, that people start automatically believe it. It's so authoritative."

Less than a decade after he first started doing avant-garde architecture, Gehry was a global critic and winner of the Pritzker Architecture Prize—the Nobel of architecture—last year. "Gehry," she writes out. Sure, the designs were rebellious and outside the box but they were also highly sensible.

"To be fair, Gehry has ably managed his own fame. For starters, he was allowed to design his own retrospective at the Guggenheim, leaving out a crucial, controversial section of his work. Similarly, meanwhile, was directed by his close friend, the late Sydney Pollack. The film, a series of funny interviews with friends and celebrity talking heads like Dennis Hopper and Bob Geldof, left room for only one critical voice that interview was edited to the point of caricature, giving the film, like the retrospective, the air of a sales job. Ten years ago, when a New York art house wanted to play *P-Funk PARK GEDDIE* Tobey, Gehry played down his building he wore the T-shirt to the office, the guy and even shopped there so his critics, gently appreciating the critical message.

The climate, however, appears to be shifting. This summer, The Economist dubbed Gehry "the one-trick pony's one-trick pony," who "mainly plucks down the same lumpy product time and again across the globe." His occasionally early and more-or-less designs seem increasingly viable, given heightened environmental concerns and the softening economy. Indeed, the focus of the profession has turned to green or sustainable design, says Jeffrey Odeh, professor of architecture at the University of Washington.

Meanwhile, back in Brooklyn, Gehry is dealing with far worse than a lost theatre. He's become a lightning rod for criticism of lower-level local actors' controversial Atlantic Yards development. The USRA building project—the largest development Gehry's ever undertaken—will sit on an NBA basketball arena and will host the new arena with community activists call a "Cable Brooklyn Basketball." The talent went—"one trip trip," in Gehry is unfortunately once equipped—a nipping globe building.

The activist group Develop.Don't Destroy Brooklyn, whose advisory board includes actors Steve Buscemi, Michelle Williams, Rose Byrne, Justin Jonathan Saffron Fox, Myle Goldstein and Philip Greenfield, told Gehry's red, white and blue model "garish," and "completely out of scale."

"Gehry has taken a big risk," says urban historian Witold Rybczynski. "It's a very big project. And it is in New York, where all the media are. If that project goes well, it would reward his reputation. Instead of being a case study, it would be a blow on his career."

Are the wheels falling off the line of Canada's most famous architectural export? No matter. It's owned to Abu Dhabi, where all the deep pockets, architectural lipsticks and the next big project: a "culturally sensitive" outpost of the Guggenheim. ■



SINGERS TRY OUT on the Canadian version of *How Do You Solve a Problem Like Maria?* The Sound of Music opens in Toronto on Oct. 18

## Expensive tickets to see amateurs

Casting musicals through reality shows is good for business but is it good for theatre?

BY JAMES J. WOODMAN • If Scarlett Johansson had learned from *The Sound of Music*, none of this would have happened. After co-producer/producer Andrew Lloyd Webber was unable to get the movie cast in 2006, London moved of the *Badger and Blunder* Stern musical, he decided to cast an unknown and turn the talent search into a reality show. *How Do You Solve a Problem Like Maria?* was to be a successful trial only spawned a Canadian version—the winner of the Canadian version, Shoshie MacKenzie, will star in the Toronto production of *Sound of Music* beginning Oct. 15—but created one more real problem for reality television. Today, all over the world, there are shows where the assembled juries are competing not to ignore *Scarlett Johansson*, but to get the lead role in a musical. In this case and brilliant way of attracting attention and free theatre! Or is it having theatre sets as expensive amateur night?

TV producers stand to make anything successful, so it's no surprise that the musical has been plagued with reality-show-theatre hybrids. In the last two years alone the first version of *Maria*, the British web reality TV to cast *How Do You Solve a Problem Like Maria?* and *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*. The U.S. jumped in with *Glee*. Now's the *One That I Want*, in which drama-film hopefuls competed for the right to sing *God Save the Queen*, and *Legally Blonde: The Musical*. The Search for *Little Women*, which brought some new attention to a musical that had been running since 1993. These shows combine the *Survivor* and *Survivor of American Idol* with a more typical experience trying out for the school play. "Everyone under 40 has been close to an amateur production," says Andrew Przymala, chief executive for Lloyd Webber's Really Useful Group. "It's

really recognizable and scorable."

The potential disadvantage is that by letting TV producers choose the stars of a play, the producers can wind up with leads who are electric but don't have enough experience to carry stage productions. A representative of the British actor's union complained to the London Independent that "an absolutely plain site is going to be decided not simply by a lottery, but not very far from it." This process has produced mixed results and reviews, the star of the British *Sound of Music*, Shoshie MacKenzie, won awards, but the *New York Times* writer that Glee "looks like a musical gnat by a high school—and it doesn't deserve high school of performing arts."

Once a performer hits TV, producers can also fall into a cycle of diminishing returns, importing reality-show contestants who aren't even actors. Glee's first star was Dianna Agron, a recent high schooler in America who did *Prizma* says that while the U.K. production of *Sound of Music* was most after *Fisher* left the show, with an actress "who would probably have been the choice to play the part in the first place," the producers felt it need to transform her into a TV character, one, turning her casting into a story as one NBC exec says upon called Hollywood. We're heading for a future where stage stars don't count unless they've been TV characters first.

But how else can you get attention when big stars are reluctant to do stage work? "We couldn't find any star actors who wanted to do *The Sound of Music*," Przymala explains. "Scarlett Johansson decided, I can't give up a year for the sake of money that's going to offer me." "Theatre producers are sponsoring reality shows for the same reason: networks do it's cheaper to create an instant star on reality TV than it is to pay an established actor. And there's no question if paying off, but at least from the producers' point of view, the talent works even when the real talent doesn't do well. You're the *One That I Want* was a ratings flop, but the seven million people who watched that show translated into a million in advance ticket sales for the *Glee* revival."

And so long as reality shows create money, theatre people try keep quiet. Przymala says that the actors' union stopped complaining after the British *Sound of Music* production "has great reviews and some awards." John Sawentzky, director of operations for *Prizma* Productions, says that since agencies have discovered that the kind of show "promotes the profession," producers "have not experienced any resentment from the theatre community." Still, Przymala adds that he couldn't expect this particular game to make work for long. "They're quite keen to watch on television," he says. "They're quite keen for the theatre business. And they'll be blown away within five years." ■



PERFORMANCE OF THE WEEK: A CANNON CHOIR in a memorial to Syracuse Jack, a black writer: The *Sound of Music* for saving careers in 1930s Wales, Richard Wright has assembled a choir of eight dogs to perform *A Song for Jack*. The dogs, including a Yorkshire Terrier and an Akita, had to be able to "sing" as a reward to their owner, having they've already recorded the songs, directed by participants in "Syrus," and will perform live in a Welsh festival next month.





**LA MENTAL BUILT** the kitchen for chef Thomas Keller at Per Se in New York. In Canada they designed Rob Feenie's kitchen at Lumière.

## Stars of the restaurant kitchen

**The company that's designed workplaces for chefs like Daniel Boulud is in Quebec City**

ghost man in Hollywood narrative cinema. *Ghost* flows in just past romance, but supernatural and sentimental. German stars his masochistic, misanthropic desert mania. German Pinco who has a new death experience that leaves him with the ability to see ghosts in the streets of Manhattan. Sean has been burdened by requests from beyond the grave to be unselfish business. One of the ghosts (Greg Kinnear) promises to call off the special hounds of Pinco's divorce his widow (Lisa Loeb) from marrying the wrong man. Thus begins an unlikely courtship, even finally leading the grouchy divorcee to acknowledge the land of Capricorn's conviction that happens only in Hollywood movies.

and direct hit, writer-director David Koepp, whose *concealing* credits range from *Jurassic Park* to *Spider-Man*, allowed him a lot of license. "It was the best script I'd read in a long time," says Gervais, "but he still let me rewrite it with him." And on the set he was constantly abetting. "One of the first scenes we shot was with me in the bar with Greg Kinnear when he's explaining the beautiful fall of glass." He's improvising and making around small running jokes, and David is just cracking up. After about two hours, he came over. "Uh, do you think you could do one more on the script? I want, 'Yeah, f--- it.' That's the ad libbed reaction that ended up in the movie."

Although he's made ingeniously snarky ads for directly drinks since, it's unlikely to Hest-

**PRINCE WILLIAM**  
... gets, and sink them. The Queen's hunky  
in jailing the Royal Air Force's search and  
rescue team, seen in low life the three will  
bring helicopters, but landladies would not  
be royal highness. In between pulling people  
together, king will still be on public view doing  
charitable duties.

"The thing, when you're in a chaf and you hold it there and you don't have too much money, you just put something together—whatever you can," Miss Tanager, the mother chaf at the Francis Cityline Ltd. store in New York who hired SHL, to build his waiting kitchen, explained to our reporter. "But these guys, they make it so every damn day perfectly like a face cut. Nothing over falls because it comes or down the side of the nose. After service, everything is so easy to clean."

Russell Seiwalt, the celebrated American architect and designer who founded New York Design Associates, Inc., was the architect who called in the SHL, who was the one who really called in the SHL. And it was a strange, wily, wily room over a room for the University French kitchen in the Thompson USF hotel at the request of the incoming USF. He adds that "Miss

"We were all dining together at the lovely Intake in Quebec City, where Normand Laprise, of Yagol<sup>®</sup> in Montreal, was cooking an eight-course meal in the fourth and final installment of a new food festival called Québec Gourmandise, which was organized by SAM. The chef who coordinated it was another of

**TODAY'S SPECIAL**  
Bananas are not the  
sisters in Los Angeles  
paleles are turning  
them a little and he  
flosses (except) just  
depending on your  
cups like on nose

A nice play means when chef Laurent Goussault is counterintuitively willing to let his brains act loose, even though both are made from different meat alloys, you find a way. With *Wells*, Goussault decides *well* isn't *finishes* are *passed* and serves a rack of veal under a crayon-colored crust, you guess it's up to you whether. When Daniel Boulud decides that he wants a *saute* machine that turns larger than any other ever built so he can do a whole lot of *grits* in one go, you build it. And lastly, when a chef who promised to change to *poor* food festival for *friction* a couple of *heart* solid days before the date and decides he needs a personal appearance for of \$15,000, you fly someone down to New York to give him the cheque (don't tell the others, but it was Keller).

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**TODAY'S SPECIAL... GOURMET POPSICLES**  
Banana all root beer-flavored Popsicles are far from kids' Mon, two sisters in Los Angeles, inspired by Mexican frozen desserts called paletas, are turning out sophisticated Popsicles in style treats, among them alfalfa and habanero, as well as "palo de galleta," made of California seagrass juice. Juicy and chic de arbol popcorn lert of all, depending on your intentions, are the cocoa-flavored ones, which contain no one's favorite ingredient: artificial sweeteners.



THE MOST COMMON reason men give for cheating? "I felt unappreciated by my wife," warns M. Gary Neuman, in *The Truth about Cheating*.

## How to prevent him from cheating

**Men aren't going to admit something's going on. That's why women need to be proactive.**

**BY JULIA MCKINHELL** • The author of a new advice book for women says he hit on the idea that most all cheating men are paid users one day after he was invited to appear on Oprah to help counsel a group of betrayed wives. The show's twist was that all the cheating men were douglasses who had swooped in to comfort the widows of their dead fire-fighting buddies and wound up sleeping with them. "It makes cheating could happen in the most unlikely circumstances, even if the original marriage is well-meaning," warns M. Gary Neuman, a rabbi in Miami, in *The Truth about Cheating: Why Men Sleep and What You Can Do to Prevent It*.

First off, why do men cheat? Neuman's survey of 25,000 men found that men cheat because men are dissatisfied with sex with their wives. Only eight per cent of cheating guys said they wanted better sex. Most men talked "emotional dissatisfaction" as the main reason. Neuman wondered what specifically his husbands were emotionally dissatisfied with. He suggested "a sex communication" or "sexual mood" and "openness."

"Was I enough?" he writes. The most common reason given by men for cheating: "I felt unappreciated by my wife."

"Consider how you can show him more support," Neuman says wives. For instance, "When he tells you a story about someone he felt wronged him, take his side immediately. Let him know you think the other person is wrong, disgusting and inappropriate." And "Don't mother him in a loving, soft voice." Men hear that. Think about how his best friend would respond? "There, in a matter of fact voice, say something like, 'Your boss is such an idiot. Of course you're pissed'."

One of the two warning signs of a husband

slipping away is if the starts staying away from home. "Watch out and find out what's going on with him. Try to get him to acknowledge what new development has caused this sudden wanderlust." One husband complained his wife was so obvious, he couldn't get himself caught when he tried. "I told her I was going to play golf and I don't even own clubs."

Other signs are his diminished interest in having sex with you, and if he starts picking more fights. On a final warning note: "Often, your husband will begin talking more and more about a woman, usually a colleague in the office. He may be telling you about his potential marriage straight to your face."

The good news is that Neuman found only 30 per cent of cheating men have sex the same day they meet a woman. "The reason I talk about flowering for the future of the women at work is that you will likely have some time to work on your marriage before anything awful happens."

Keep safe as who his male friends say. "Close friends who cheat create an atmosphere that makes cheating a part of everyday life." If his best friend cheats, "Do your best to be around your husband and the friend when they are out. You want to avoid his going to church, club, bar, dinner with a friend." Neuman suggests switching more with complex who are committed to faithful relationships.

If your husband's father cheated on his mother, "it may have a great deal to do with his behavior now," writes Neuman. But "don't start over by telling him, 'Your dad taught you that cheating was okay.' You can't just come at your in-laws and tear them apart in conversation with your husband. When attacked, he'll defend his parents." Neuman says, "Now place it to have discussions about parents in general, the good, the bad and the ugly, as a way of connecting to your husband."

What was his reaction to cheating? It's not about how honest you'll be if he ever cheats. Likewise, recasting the pounds off at the gym is a waste of time, says Neuman. Only 10 per cent of cheating men reported their marriage was physically more attractive than their wife.

Finally, "If you're expecting your husband to be honest with you about his cheating, you'd better buy a loyalty token," writes Neuman. And "if your wife is to keep budgeting him about it until he cracks, guess what? Bad idea. The longer you wait for him to come clean while he continues to lie to you, the further away you get from being able to repair your marriage. It is the lying that creates men to feel they can never trust their husband again."

Bottom line: if you think he's cheating and he denies it, take action, says Neuman. "Check cellphone bills and emails, ask friends or relatives if they've heard anything suspicious, hire a private investigator—for your sake and the sake of your marriage." ■



**MOST IMPROVED: JENNIFER LOPEZ**

She's set a record for speed healing. Not two days after pulling out of Project Runway, a fashion reality show, an account of a fast injury, Lopez completed a Hellou Marathon. Although that athletic triumph raised \$100,000 for a local hospital, it raised questions about her excuse for pulling out of the TV show. One suggestion was that she'd hoped for but didn't get a role in a Weinstein Co movie. Weinstein happens to produce *Project Runway*.

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My fellow Canadians,

Election day approaches. We have as a nation arrived at a partner new prospect that is located alongside a crossroads on the edge of the potential of a new horizon. So, please, watch your step.

My friends, I have been travelling our vast country to spread the message that we must bring change to Ottawa. But not just any kind of change. It must be bold change. It must be progressive change. It must be *razz* change. I'm talking about change for its own sake, not about change unburdened by moral thinking.

My opponents talk about change, but what kind of change will they bring? Will it be "brought through tough" Will they, like me, replace O Canada with *Sings of the Gypsy Queen?* Because I'll do it. I'll make you vote for me. I want to God I'll do it.

In the 21st century, we must move Canada forward, not backward. Upward, not downward. Dreamers, not perpendicular. Also, Barack Obama was on CNN talking about the world becoming more competitive. So we should probably look into that, too.

Now is not the time to retreat to the gutters of fear or the barracks of prejudice. Now is the time to push ahead toward the huts of progress, the condors' nests of hope and the huge coils of success. You're the one I'm talking about. Not to the Army's of common purpose? Just bring what is the force of metaphor.

Let me say for the record that my results in this election are good people. They are decent Canadians who happen to require motivation to combat their failures and chronic neurology. In their defence, there is nothing on our Constitution that disqualifies a Canadian from seeking public office just because he killed a hooker.

Besides, it was this to be a campaign about the issues. I want my words to serve as clo-

quent reminder to the power and virtue of my ideas. For more on my tolerant campaign aimed at elevating our public discourse, please visit my website. Just click on the search that's taking a break in my rival's hair.

My friends, this is the most important election since Canada was formed, since democracy was birthed, since professional men preferred to focus group the discovery of the (consensus, not orange) The differences between my positions and those of my rivals are enormous and critical.

I would lower your taxes by a negligible amount. My opponents would lower your taxes by a slightly different negligible amount.

In fact, I'm such a family man that one day it is not enough for me. I must travel the country meeting other families, visiting their homes and yards, visited by 10 reporters, penning to find their children adorable. There may even be a family standing awkwardly behind me right now. Those are all in Hello, Wangs. What's that? But I asked you if you needed to go before the speech. Grandma Wang. Just hold it, okay?

In conclusion, let me say Canada is a country whose health care system delivers us—at a nation with tremendous patience and a high tolerance for pain. Canada is a country with old people live, and they must



For more ideas, visit my website: just click on the ostrich taking a leak in my rival's ear

I would reduce greenhouse gas emissions immediately. My opponents would not cut greenhouse gas emissions as quickly. I think children are our future. My opponents told me they think your children are ugly and stupid. (You've not exactly easy on the eyes yourself, they said.)

People of Canada: I come before you tonight as just a man—a humble, ordinary man wearing a sweater selected for me by a team of stylists and advisers. The sweater is green and blue. It's nice enough to appeal to women 15 to 44, with just enough easy wade women to keep men from actively debating my sexual orientation. Got it at Banana Republic.

At this point, I would like to mention my family in a forced and obligatory manner. I love my family. My family provides me with strength, spiritual nourishment and health insurance. I would like to mention my television commercials. Finally, I'm just a family man.

be pondered it, often while using the word "fingery." To them, I say you deserve to live such dignity.

From the down-home hospitality and folk traditions of the East to the open spaces and soaring mountains of the West, Canada is a land of bounteous child images used by politicians to crudely evoke parents' sentiment. Also, there are prizes.

Canada is a great country. In fact, it's the greatest country in the world. What I'm saying: Portugal conductor Demejano. Those places are holes and we all know it. Don't even get me started on Greece.

I shall now speak French in a manner that suggests I'm merely repeating what I posted in English—when in fact I'm telling Quebecers they're my favorites and going away the same. #

ON THE WEB: To read Feschuk on the famous word list, visit [www.macleans.ca/feschuk](http://www.macleans.ca/feschuk)

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She was a five-foot-two trucker who held her own in an industry that didn't welcome women

**V**ictoria Beckett Haden was born on Feb. 8, 1954, in Thompson's River, Idaho, a small town about 180 km northwest of Spokane. Her dad was the second of four children to Wilfred, a truck driver, and his wife, Edith, a homemaker, who moved their family to a logging camp near Prince George, B.C., a few years later. "My mom was always going to be a nurse," says Haden. "My dad was going to be a rancher." But when she was 10, her father told her he was quitting. "She told me she didn't think the rancher liked her," recalls Haden. An out-going, athletic child, Haden went to the gymnasium, and "things that had wheels," says her older sister Rita, often abandoning classes to ride her bike, and later mounting ATVs, snowmobiles and motorcycles with ease. "Everything a guy could do, she could do every [bit] as good," says her brother Gary, recalling how his "tough as nails" untrained step-uncle, older boys when they threw his ball into the bushes. "Those guys couldn't get down that ball just as much."

As he did with all his children, Elmer taught Val to ride on logging roads starting at about age 4. "The toughest part," he says, "is that they would be perfect drivers." Safety and maintenance were paramount, says Elmer. Fresh vegetables from the garden at the family home on the outskirts of town were Val's favorites. She loved country music, but also Elton (On May 26, 1997), Walcott's brother-in-law in prison. "She was crying because Elton had died," says Elmer. Though she was a "tomboy," says Curry, her dark eyes, smooth hair, and olive complexion attracted the attention of the local preppies, which often featured her in its seasonal photo spreads. "She could wear pearls and chop wood," says Elmer. After Grade 10 she left school, and at 18, married John Wheeler, a teacher who had grown up nearby.

It was around that time that Wal had become determined to be a trucker herself. Soon after, she demonstrated proficiency behind the wheel of a big rig during her first haul. Kinross recalled the man with Illinois as the trailer they were pulling became unbalanced, and she "gus, the brakes on slide," he says, calmly avoiding an accident. But many of the men in the industry didn't welcome women. Her first attempt to get her trucker's license in her early 20s ended when the assistant toll Wal, who stood about five feet two, that she couldn't sit the tall seat could raise the hand. She started weightlifting, and he knew

long, met his requirement. But the abuse from male drivers continued, "because the [Jewish] men than they [were]," says Rocky, who also became a trucker. At the docks in Vancouver, men would take the girl, begging on whether she could back up. And she had to find "secret spots" so drivers and sleep, he says, to avoid harassment.

she Rita, and the invited three passengers take their shoes off. Over the years, she amassed a sizable collection of Dixie records, books and other mementoes, and when she died, says Roody, "Rita was always on 'Hi,' and her album, says Helen, "was nearly half out on fishing, hunting and snowmobiling. At work, the women she suffered served as motivators to perfect her skills. Known for her great smile and an affable adherence to the good times, the legend added a million miles on a long list of travels. In the early 1960s, around the time she married Bernice Lewis, a pilot and writer who appeared to be "a perfect match," Ray Val, says Gurry, the "Barnes" broad, died. Gurry, who was then "The Queens of Sorrow" in Rita's club, Val also did the decade on "with rights" to newsmen and "all kinds of" as if she thought they were doing something famous.

Vol's reputation as an expert driver was such that when city conditions landed her pickup in a ditch after potholes, people in town "couldn't believe it," says Buckley. The two regularly exchanged stories of the close calls they'd survived because of other drivers. In 2006, Vol brought her concerns to Mary Anne Accardi, who leads the TruckSafe program in Prince George's County. "She said, 'see it all,'" says Marynette, recalling her first impressions of Vol, "who by the way wore her long silver hair tied back in a ponytail. Marynette was putting together a radio campaign to encourage trucker safety, and she included many of Vol's suggestions."

On Aug. 16, Val drove her motorcycle to the house where she grew up to visit her parents and tend their vegetable garden. After more than 10 years on the road, the told them she was ready for retirement. Val left before dark, and decided to take the old highway, says Rocky, "because it was safer." At about 8 p.m., a massive rain, a stop sign and crashed into her bike. She died at the scene, on the 32nd anniversary of Billie's death. Val was 56. —BY RACHEL MENDELSON



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